DEC. 27, 2004

The Nation.

www.thenation.com

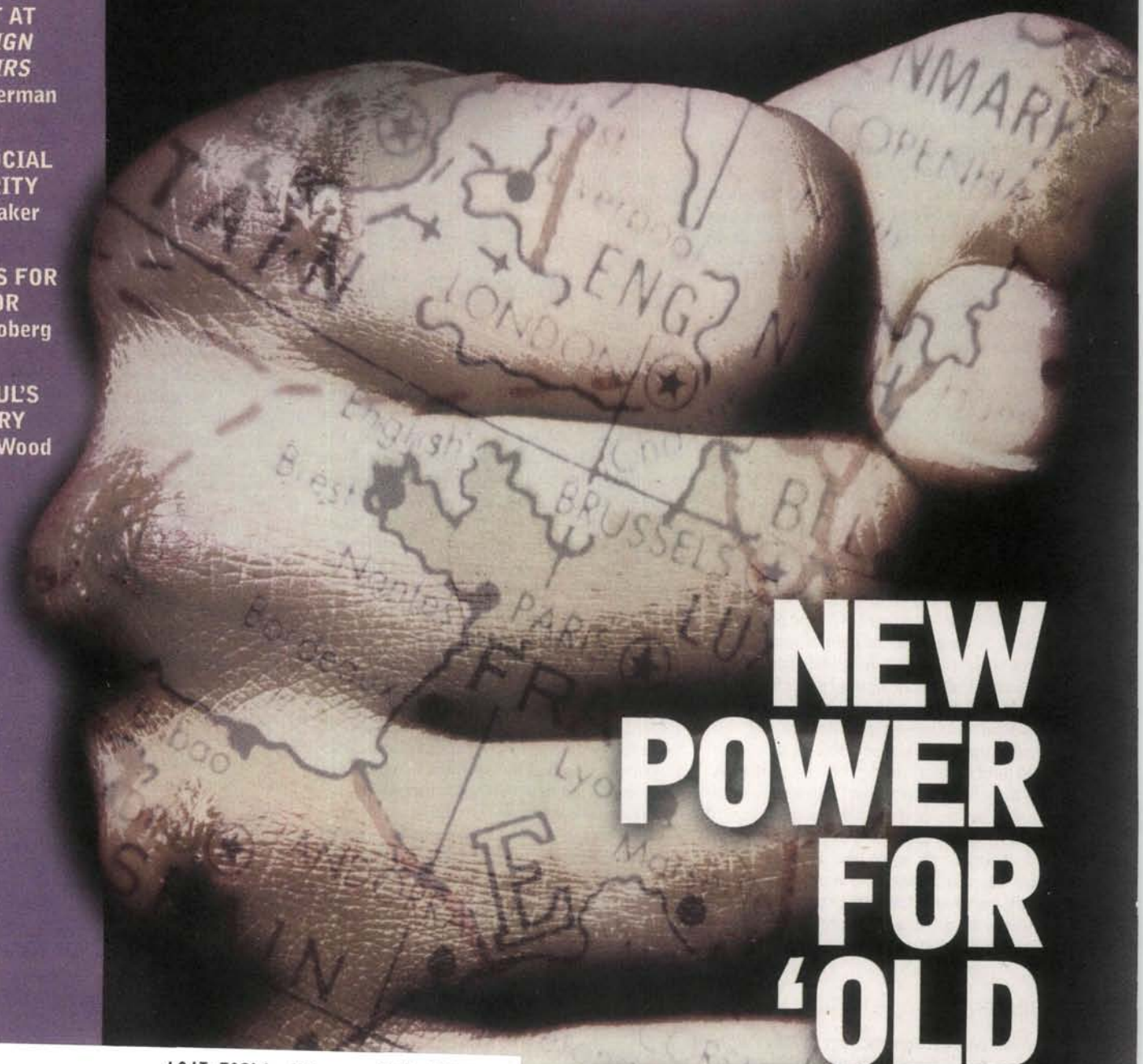
$2.95
$3.95 Canada

KISSINGER'S CLOUT AT *FOREIGN AFFAIRS*
Scott Sherman

ANTI-SOCIAL SECURITY
Dean Baker

LESSONS FOR LABOR
David Moberg

NAIPAUL'S MISERY
Michael Wood



NEW POWER FOR 'OLD EUROPE'

by MARK SCHAPIRO

#BXNKBXM ****** 5-DIGIT 94301
#UNZ0555B096 1#302604 TW
RON K UNZ
555 BRYANT ST 371
PALO ALTO CA 94301-1704
FEB 05 07
USPA
#0088
01223
0 377539 4

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS

Letters

CHRISTOPH NIEMANN

SUCH, SUCH WERE THE JOYS...

Washington, DC

■ Bruce Robbins is entitled to his room-temperature resentment of me ["Prisoner of Love," Dec.6], but he makes a false allegation when he says that I have "repeatedly claimed Orwell's mantle." To the contrary, and leaving aside the fact that I don't believe in "mantles" anyway, I have taken every opportunity to disown this aspiration. My denial doesn't involve me in much immodest effort: Orwell suffered from censorship and hardship all his writing life and took a bullet from a Francoist while narrowly escaping another one in the back from Stalin's agents in Catalonia. My own life has been somewhat easier, and better rewarded. Moreover, Orwell wrote much better than I do and was capable of producing serious fiction, which I am not.

Once or twice, critics and reviewers have been good enough to make a comparison between us, which makes me shy but which delights my publishers. As with, say, "Jeffersonian," the term "Orwellian" has only one proper attribution. The coinage "Hitchensian" is unkindly affixed by Robbins to the word "simplifications," but even if it were yoked to a nobler term, I just can't see much of a radiant future for it. CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

ROBBINS REPLIES

New York City

■ It's rare for a writer to stand up and say, "I hereby claim the mantle of X." The process of arranging to be seen in the light of some earlier writer's accomplishment is a subtler thing. One writes a book about the desired predecessor, for example, and discovers in her or him virtues one has reason to hope others will then see confirmed in oneself. This leaves no evidence that would hold up in a court of law. I will not dispute, therefore, Christopher Hitchens's statement that he has never sought the authority of George Orwell's example but has merely had that authority thrust upon him. The point of my review was that, whether he wants it or not, he doesn't deserve it. Both write very well. But as one learns from Hitchens's admirable book on Orwell, Orwell had better politics.

BRUCE ROBBINS

'MOURN'

Of all our postelection coverage, Katha Pollitt's "Subject to Debate" column—titled, simply, "Mourn" [Nov. 22]—drew far and away the most mail. Two sample letters:

Pittsboro, NC

■ Thank you, Katha Pollitt, for saying what too many on the left are afraid to admit: We're heading toward the America of Margaret Atwood's *The Handmaid's Tale* or—worse—toward Orwell's *1984*, not because Americans aren't paying attention but because a majority of them want that as our future. We're not going to win any converts by saying this, but a majority of Americans—a voting majority, anyway—are willfully ignorant, racist, homophobic, misogynistic and/or religious fundamentalists. And those people are always going to vote Republican. Progressives are going to have to content themselves with forming enclaves where they can live with like-minded people. Think locally, act locally. That won't help change federal or state laws, but it's all we'll have.

DOUG STEWART

Brooklyn, NY

■ Chin up, Katha! More than 55 million of us voted against Bush. The country is still largely split down the middle: It was a brutal blow but not a blowout. We are not alone, not even where the red dye poisons the landscape. Our values of justice, liberty, equality, freedom, democracy, education and healthcare *are* better than the fear, hate, misogyny, homophobia and perverted Christianity of the fundamentalists. Plus, our music is better, and we're funnier! What we stand for, even when we can't get a candidate to articulate it, is worth fighting for, even when the odds are overwhelming. "The country we carry in our hearts is waiting," as Springsteen says; it always has and always will, come hell or fascism. MATTHEW WILLS

FOGGY BOTTOM HIT BOTTOM

Toledo, Ohio

■ Stephen Glain's "Freeze-Out of the Arabists" [Nov. 1], with its apt subtitle, "The Neocons Have Isolated State Department Experts—With Disastrous Results," sadly, describes a phenomenon that is not new. My late father, Gordon P. Merriam, was an Arabist in the State Department. Chief of the Near East (as they call it) Division, he went on to the Policy Planning Staff, which advises the Secretary of State.

In the Truman Administration he wrote a long, carefully thought-out memorandum regarding his concerns about hasty recognition of Israel to Secretary of State Dean Acheson, saying that such a policy would alienate many Arab nations with which we had good relations. Gen. George Marshall, highly regarded, held the same view and spoke directly to Truman on this matter. UN ambassador Warren Austin firmly concurred. My father was called into Acheson's office and handed back his memo. He was sternly told, "Mr. Merriam, what you are suggesting is not the policy of the US government." When my normally composed father exited the State Department the day of the reprimand, he threw up. Considerably stressed, he took early retirement. JOHN G. MERRIAM

THE 3 FACES OF DR. STRANGELOVE

Exeter, Devon, England

■ Having described my biography, *Edward Teller: The Real Dr. Strangelove*, as mostly "truly excellent," Jeremy Bernstein, I hope, will not think me churlish if I take issue with him on two points ["Learning to Love the Bomb," Nov. 1].

First, I am puzzled by his attempt to explain Teller's radical personality change during his wartime years at Los Alamos. We agree that the fulcrum event was Robert Oppenheimer's decision not to appoint him as head of the lab's theoretical division, a job Teller thought was his. That triggered a change from the "charming and collegial" prewar Teller to someone increasingly embittered and alienated from his colleagues. However, Bernstein sees Teller's overreaction to Oppenheimer's slight as due to insecurity arising from a sense of scientific failure and points to my lack of scientific understanding in not realizing this. In fact, Teller had much to be pleased about scientifically at that time. Further, a deeper explanation can be found in Teller's memoirs, namely his years as a "social outcast" at school, which led to his abiding fear of rejection. This was also the explanation offered me by Teller's onetime friend and colleague, Hans Bethe, of whom Bernstein is biographer.

Second, and most important, despite my "decent" attempt at balance, Bernstein believes that Teller was "often an unprincipled and intellectually dishonest fanatic." I believe the truth to be more complex. He was principled, but it was the messianic fervor with which he pursued principles like "peace through strength" that many found unacceptable. He was also exceptional in going beyond the scientist's conventional role of adviser and joining in the political infighting. He believed that to achieve political action he had to trade in exaggerations and worst-case analyses, something so many scientists thought intellectually dishonest. For Teller, however, it was the stuff of politics, the illusion-making necessary to achieve his ends.

And in assessing how successful he was, it must not be forgotten just how significant Star Wars, one of the grandest illusions to which he contributed, was in bringing about the disarmament discussions between Reagan and Gorbachev at Reykjavík. PETER GOODCHILD

BERNSTEIN REPLIES

New York City

■ I thank Peter Goodchild for his letter. On the matter of what caused Teller's change of

(Continued on Page 24)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PRINTED DECEMBER 8 VOLUME 279, NUMBER 22

IN THIS ISSUE

2 **LETTERS**

EDITORIALS & COMMENT

3 BUSH'S NEW TEAM

4 ANTI-SOCIAL SECURITY
Dean Baker

5 IN FACT...

6 OUR DEBT TO BILL MOYERS

6 *REAL* UN REFORM
Ian Williams

COLUMNS

8 DEADLINE POET
Tom (The Hammer) DeLay...
Calvin Trillin

9 DIARY OF A MAD LAW PROFESSOR
Hell Hounds
Patricia J. Williams

10 THE LIBERAL MEDIA
"Big Ideas Need Sharp Elbows"
Eric Alterman

ARTICLES

11 NEW POWER FOR "OLD EUROPE"
The EU is an emerging geopolitical force that corporate America must reckon with.
Mark Schapiro

16 LESSONS FOR LABOR
What unions did right—and wrong—in the 2004 election.
David Moberg

20 KISSINGER'S SHADOW OVER THE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
A critic of US-Chile policy paid the price.
Scott Sherman

BOOKS & THE ARTS

25 NANDY: Bonfire of Creeds: The Essential Ashis Nandy
NANDY: The Savage Freud
CHATTERJEE: The Politics of the Governed: Reflections on Popular Politics in Most of the World
Siddartha Deb

29 NAIPAUL: Magic Seeds
Michael Wood

31 VASSANJI: The In-Between World of Vikram Lall
Leela Jacinto

32 Panegyric for the Plane Tree Fallen on Fifth Avenue (poem)
Stanley Plumly

34 CAWS, ED.: The Yale Anthology of Twentieth-Century French Poetry
John Palattella

Cover by Gene Case & Stephen Kling/Avenging Angels; illustrations by Christoph Niemann and Ryan Inzana

EDITORIALS

Bush's New Team

On his first trip to Washington after the Supreme Court awarded him the presidency in 2000, George W. Bush announced, "If this were a dictatorship, it'd be a heck of a lot easier—just as long as I'm the dictator." With his attempt at a joke, the President revealed everything about his vision of an ideal White House working environment. This is not a chief executive who likes dissent—from outside his Administration or from within. And as Bush reshapes his Cabinet, he is purging even the most tepid of free thinkers.

Gone soon will be Secretary of State Colin Powell, who had the annoying habit of pointing out that the United States actually needed allies. Exiting as well is United Nations ambassador John Danforth, who tried with little success during his brief tenure to get the Administration to mend fences with that international body. On the domestic front, Secretary of Homeland Security Tom Ridge, whose frustration with the Administration's refusal to fund needed antiterrorism initiatives was always a little too evident, is on the way out. So, too, is Health and Human Services Secretary Tommy Thompson, who never got on board with the Administration's opposition to most forms of stem-cell research and who bluntly acknowledges that he wishes he had been given the authority to negotiate drug prices with pharmaceutical companies and to do more to protect the nation's food supply.

As Bush announces his replacements, ideology and personal loyalty are winning out at every turn over ideas and the historic notion that a Cabinet ought to be made up of the best and the brightest. Powell's proposed replacement, National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice, suffers from none of the current secretary's angst over the increasing isolation of the United States. Ridge's replacement, former New York City Police Commissioner Bernard Kerik, proved his absolute loyalty by hitting the campaign trail as the most over-the-top apologist for the Administration's inept, penny-pinching response to the cry of cities and port authorities for adequate federal funding of needed antiterror initiatives. Even where nominees are more personally appealing than their predecessors, they are also less likely to question the President. White House domestic policy adviser Margaret Spellings, who is set to take over from Rod Paige at the Education Department, is less bombastic than Paige but is also more invested in maintaining the failed No Child Left Behind experiment, which she helped draft. White House legal counsel Alberto Gonzales may not be as wild-eyed as outgoing Attorney General John Ashcroft, but he is arguably more closely linked to the Administration's worst abuses of basic liberties and international humanitarian standards.

The President's attempt to build a no-questions-asked Cabinet makes America even more vulnerable to policy missteps and misdeeds. Democrats in the Senate have a responsibility to do more than simply rubber-stamp his nominees. Too often, members of the opposition party who serve on Senate committees seek to display bipartisanship in reviewing Cabinet selections, in part because they want to be able to work with new department heads. But the overall pattern of Bush's selections suggests a lockstep approach that renders prospects for compromise and collegiality even less likely than in his first term. Senate Democrats, and responsible Republicans, must go out of their way to grill these Cabinet nominees. Even if they cannot muster the votes to block particular appointments, they must not only hold them accountable for past actions but also demand evidence that those nominees will respect and respond to Congressional oversight. Bush should not be allowed to quietly replace America's Cabinet form of government with an echo chamber.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENT

The Nation.

PUBLISHER AND EDITORIAL DIRECTOR: Victor Navasky

EDITOR: Katrina vanden Heuvel

MANAGING EDITOR: Karen Rothmyer
LITERARY EDITOR: Adam Shatz
SENIOR EDITORS: Richard Lingeman, Betsy Reed
SENIOR EDITOR/COPY CHIEF: Roane Carey
COPY EDITOR: Judith Long
ASSOCIATE LITERARY EDITOR: Hillary Frey
COPY ASSOCIATE: Lisa Vandepaer
ASSISTANT TO THE EDITOR: Peggy Suttle
INTERNS: Andrew Ackerman (*Washington*), Ross Meckler Benjamin, Isadora Forman, Robert F. Goulding, Sam Graham-Felsen, Raina Lipsitz, Patrick Mulvaney, Reed Richardson, Justin Taylor

WASHINGTON, DC: EDITOR: David Corn; CORRESPONDENT: John Nichols

NATIONAL AFFAIRS CORRESPONDENT: William Greider

COLUMNISTS: Eric Alterman, Alexander Cockburn, Naomi Klein, Katha Pollitt, Patricia J. Williams

DEPARTMENTS: *Architecture*, Jane Holtz Kay; *Art*, Arthur C. Danto; *Corporations*, Robert Sherrill; *Defense*, Michael T. Klare; *Environment*, Mark Hertsgaard; *Films*, Stuart Klawans; *Legal Affairs*, David Cole; *Music*, Jody Rosen; *Peace and Disarmament*, Jonathan Schell; *Poetry*, Grace Schulman; *United Nations*, Ian Williams; *Deadline Poet*, Calvin Trillin

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Kai Bird, George Black, Robert L. Borosage, Stephen F. Cohen, Marc Cooper, Mike Davis, Slavenka Drakulić, Robert Dreyfuss, Susan Faludi, Liza Featherstone, Thomas Ferguson, Doug Henwood, Max Holland, Molly Ivins, John Leonard, Michael Moore, Richard Pollak, Joel Rogers, Kirkpatrick Sale, Robert Scheer, Herman Schwartz, Ted Solotaroff, Edward Sorel, Gore Vidal, Jon Wiener, Amy Wilentz, Art Winslow

CONTRIBUTING WRITERS: Eyal Press, Scott Sherman

BUREAUS: *Budapest*, Miklós Vámos; *London*, Maria Margaronis and D.D. Guttenplan; *Southern Africa*, Mark Gevisser

EDITORIAL BOARD: Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Eric Foner, Philip Green, Lani Guinier, Tom Hayden, Randall Kennedy, Tony Kushner, Elinor Langer, Deborah W. Meier, Toni Morrison, Richard Parker, Michael Pertschuk, Elizabeth Pochoda, Marcus G. Raskin, David Weir, Roger Wilkins

PRESIDENT: Teresa Stack

ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER, SPECIAL PROJECTS/WEBSITE: Peter Rothberg
ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER, DEVELOPMENT/ASSOCIATES: Peggy Randall
VICE PRESIDENT, ADVERTISING: Ellen Bollinger
ADVERTISING MANAGER, SMALL DISPLAY, EVENTS, CLASSIFIED: Leigh Novog
VICE PRESIDENT, CIRCULATION: Arthur Stupar
CIRCULATION MANAGER: Michelle O'Keefe
CIRCULATION FULFILLMENT MANAGER: Inga Knets
PRODUCTION DIRECTOR: Omar Rubio
TYPOGRAPHER/WEB PRODUCER: Sandy McCroskey
PRINT COORDINATOR: Timothy Don
NATION ASSOCIATES MANAGER: Peter Fifield
PUBLICITY/SYNDICATION DIRECTOR: Mike Webb
COMMUNICATIONS COORDINATOR: Habiba Alcindor
DIRECTOR OF TECHNOLOGY/WEB PUBLISHER: Scott Klein
TECHNOLOGY COORDINATOR: Amiri K. Barksdale
CONTROLLER: Mary van Valkenburg
ASSISTANT TO THE PUBLISHER AND OFFICE MANAGER: Mary Taylor Schilling
DATA ENTRY/MAIL COORDINATOR: John Holtz
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT: Kathleen Thomas
RECEPTIONIST/BUSINESS ASSISTANT: Larri Washington

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR: E-mail to letters@thenation.com (300-word limit). Letters are subject to editing for reasons of space and clarity.
SUBMISSIONS: Queries only, no manuscripts. Go to www.thenation.com and click on "about," then "submissions" for a query form. Queries and poetry may be mailed to The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. SASE for poems.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the second week in January, and biweekly the third week of July through the second week of September) by The Nation Company, L.P. © 2004 in the U.S.A. by The Nation Company, L.P., 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. (212) 209-5400. Washington Bureau: Suite 308, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington, DC 20002. (202) 546-2239. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries: The Nation, PO Box 55149, Boulder, CO 80322-5149, or call 1-800-333-8536. Publications Mail Agreement No: 40041477. Return undeliverable Canadian addresses to Circulation Dept. or DPGM, 4960-2 Walker Road, Windsor, ON N9A 6J3. **When ordering a subscription, please allow 4-6 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Back issues $4 prepaid ($6 foreign) from: The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. The Nation is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. Member, Audit Bureau of Circulations. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The Nation, PO Box 55149, Boulder, CO 80322-5149. Printed in U.S.A. on recycled paper.

INTERNET: Selections from the current issue become available Thursday night at www.thenation.com.

Anti-Social Security

The battle for Social Security's survival is under way. In a key maneuver recently, N. Gregory Mankiw, George W. Bush's chief economic adviser, explicitly floated the idea of cutting benefits, a necessary but unmentioned part of the White House's privatization plan. More details will be presented to the public in the weeks ahead, but the outlines of the Bush plan are already clear, having been laid out by his 2001 Social Security Commission. As Mankiw suggested, the Bush plan would require a large reduction in the benefits provided by the existing system. A worker who is 20 today would see a cut of approximately one-third in his or her retirement benefit, although workers would theoretically more than recoup this loss by investing a portion of their Social Security taxes in a private account.

The President's main pitch is that these accounts will yield higher returns than Social Security does. The pitch also includes rhetoric about the accounts being "your money," and giving every worker a stake in the "ownership society." These claims are mostly bad math, faulty logic and deception. Advocates of private accounts assume that the stock market will give the same returns in the future as it has in the past, even though price-to-earnings ratios in the stock market are far higher now than in the past, and the Social Security trustees project that profits will grow at about half the rate they did in the past. None of the proponents of privatization have yet passed the "no economist left behind test," which asks them to show the set of dividend yields and stock price increases that add up to the stock returns they assume in their analysis.

Private accounts also have high administrative costs. According to Bush's Social Security Commission, their private accounts will cost about ten times as much to administer as in the current system if they're handled through a single government-managed system. If Wall Street gets its hands on this money, with everyone going to his or her local bank or brokerage house—as is the case with the privatized systems in England and Chile—the costs could be thirty times as high as the cost of our Social Security system. When the administrative costs are combined with real numbers on stock returns, the individual accounts will provide no better returns on average than the government bonds currently held by the Social Security trust fund. The accounts just add risk—individuals may invest poorly or retire during a market downturn, leaving them with much less money than they'd have under the current system.

The faulty logic is telling workers that the dollars in their accounts are "your money." When money is genuinely "your money," you do what you want with it. This is a real problem—restrictions on existing private retirement accounts have consistently been relaxed to allow withdrawals for education, starting a business or other purposes. These are legitimate uses of workers' money, but not the way to secure money for retirement. The only way to preserve money for retirement is if the government requires that it stay in the account—but then it is not really "your money."

Under Bush's plan, workers will even be able to pass their private accounts on to their children, which raises the same problem. If the account will be there to support a worker's retirement, then

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENT

the money can't also be passed down to children. While a small number of wealthy people may be in a position of not needing their accounts, creating this opt-out option will add further to the administrative costs for everyone—reducing benefits by another 5 to 10 percent, according to an extensive body of research.

Of course, the only reason anyone is even talking about cutting benefits and privatizing the program is that the right has managed to convince the public that Social Security is on its last legs. For more than two decades they have spread stories about the baby boomers bankrupting the system and multitrillion-dollar debts left to our children and grandchildren. In reality the program can pay all scheduled benefits long past the boomers' retirement. According to the Social Security trustees report, it can pay full benefits through the year 2042 with no changes whatsoever. The nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office puts the date at 2052. And even after those dates, Social Security will always be able to pay a higher benefit (adjusted for inflation) than what retirees receive today. Those scary multitrillion-dollar debts translate into a deficit equal to 0.7 percent of future income—presented in very precise form in the Social Security trustees report for those who care to look.

Social Security is the country's most important and successful social program. It provides a large measure of economic security to the whole country, uniting the interests of the poor and the middle class. The program not only keeps tens of millions of retirees out of poverty, it also provides disability and survivors insurance to almost the entire working population. More children receive benefits from Social Security than from the Temporary Assistance to Needy Families program (the revamped welfare program). Social Security is also extremely efficient and has a minimal amount of fraud and abuse.

In Fact . . .

JUDGMENT IN GERMANY?

The Abu Ghraib scandal has faded from Washington's radar screen—to the Administration's presumed relief. Seven low-level GIs have been prosecuted in military court, but the people in charge, starting with Defense Secretary Rumsfeld, have avoided legal scrutiny. In an attempt to remedy this breakdown of justice, the Center for Constitutional Rights recently filed a criminal complaint with the German Federal Prosecutor's Office against Rumsfeld and other senior US officials, including officers stationed in Germany, accusing them of war crimes connected with Abu Ghraib. CCR is acting under a 2002 German law that permits human rights and war crimes prosecutions even though the criminal acts took place outside Germany. "We file these cases here because there is simply no other place to go," said CCR vice president Peter Weiss. "It is clear that the US government is not willing to open an investigation into these allegations against these officials" (to support CCR's effort go to www.ccr-ny.org or Act Now at www.thenation.com).

CLANDESTINE JUSTICE

Matthew Reiss writes: White House Counsel Alberto Gonzales, expected to be the next Attorney General, is best known for the prisoner "torture memo." But Gonzales's real White House legacy may well be an enormous expansion of government secrecy. Gonzales blocked the 9/11 Commission's efforts to compel Condoleezza Rice's testimony until she was needed to rebut what antiterrorism adviser Richard Clarke told the panel. He stopped the commission from reviewing presidential daily intelligence briefings, permitting selected members to view portions of them. He recommended halting Congressional oversight of data leading to presidential pardons. He requested successive extensions of deadlines for turning over the papers of past Presidents and purportedly pressured the national archivist to resign to stall access to records of President George H.W. Bush. He argued that records of Vice President Cheney's energy policy task force should be spared Congressional or public scrutiny. After Bush captured the White House in 2000, he requested deadline extensions for the review of 68,000 papers of Ronald Reagan, thus blocking their release. Subsequently, Bush signed an executive order giving the White House indefinite time to review presidential records and veto power over their ever becoming public. Henry Waxman of California said in a recent report that government documents kept secret included those about the prison abuses at Abu Ghraib, communications between the DoD and Cheney's office regarding Halliburton contracts in Iraq, and memorandums revealing what the White House knew about Iraq's weapons of mass destruction.

UNTO THE LEAST OF THESE...

John Nichols writes: The United Church of Christ has produced a TV ad featuring muscle-bound bouncers determining who may or may not attend church. After people of color, a disabled man and a pair of men who might be gay are turned away, the image dissolves to a statement: "Jesus didn't turn people away. Neither do we." Viewers of CBS and NBC won't see the commercial, however: It's controversial! "Because this commercial touches on the exclusion of gay couples and other minority groups by other individuals and organizations," CBS announced, "and the fact the Executive Branch has recently proposed a Constitutional amendment to define marriage as a union between a man and a woman, this spot is unacceptable for broadcast on the [CBS and UPN] networks." "It seems incredible to me that CBS admits it is refusing to air the commercial because of something the executive branch, the Bush Administration, is doing," says Dave Moyer, minister for the Wisconsin Conference of the UCC. "Since when is it unacceptable to offer a different perspective?" Especially in this moral-values moment.

THIS WEEK ON THE WEB

Read Rebecca Tuhus-Dubrow's online interview with Anthony Papa, unjustly imprisoned for twelve years under the draconian Rockefeller drug laws (www.thenation.com).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENT

It's a hugely popular program. Close to 90 percent of the public regularly affirms that we spend either too little or the right amount on Social Security. While polls also show majority support for private accounts, that's only when the question is asked, Would you like a private account? When the real-world question, Would you like a private account if it means a cut in your Social Security benefits? is asked, substantial majorities say no. Bush's Social Security plans are grounds for a decisive battle early in the Administration's second term. The public is overwhelmingly on our side; they just need to know the truth. DEAN BAKER

Dean Baker, co-director of the Center for Economic and Policy Research (www.cepr.net), is the author, with Mark Weisbrot, of Social Security: The Phony Crisis *(Chicago).*

OUR DEBT TO BILL MOYERS

A few days after the commercial television networks' laudatory "news" reports on George W. Bush's nomination of National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice to serve as Secretary of State, PBS's Bill Moyers countered with something rarely seen on broadcast television these days: serious journalism. Moyers devoted a substantial portion of *NOW*, the public broadcasting program he has hosted for the past three years, to an analysis of Rice's failure to take seriously warnings about terrorist threats before the September 11 attacks as well as her misguided response to those attacks, her role in the campaign for war on Iraq and her scheming to avoid cooperating with the 9/11 Commission. The devastating report brought to mind Edward R. Murrow's *See It Now* dissection of Senator Joseph McCarthy.

Unfortunately, PBS in 2004 can't influence public opinion the way CBS did in 1954. Moyers recognized that fact when he launched *NOW* in January 2002; the former spokesman for Lyndon Johnson, senior correspondent for CBS, groundbreaking public television producer and winner of ten Peabody Awards and more than thirty Emmy Awards understood that the best he could do in these difficult times was to barter a bit of his prestige for the chance to erect an outpost of quality reporting in the increasingly corporatized broadcast television wilderness. Week after week, *NOW* has offered consistently bold and revealing examinations of issues ranging from the threat to environmental protections posed by international trade agreements, to the damage done to basic liberties by the Patriot Act, to the abuses of politics by special interests. Moyers, who is 70 and wants to turn his attention to writing, has every reason to be proud as he prepares for his last broadcast on December 17. At a time when TV networks—including PBS—were bowing to commercial and ideological pressures that were antithetical to journalism, Moyers created a program that many viewers recognized as the only reason to turn on the TV in the Bush era.

NOW will carry on with the able crew that Moyers assembled. And whether or not the program thrives without Moyers, the legacy he created will remain. James Madison said, "A popular Government without popular information or the means of acquiring it, is but a Prologue to a Farce or a Tragedy or perhaps both" and warned that "a people who mean to be their own Governors, must arm themselves with the power knowledge gives." In a time of farce and tragedy, Bill Moyers did his best to arm the people with the power knowledge gives and to affirm that there's still a place for TV journalism that nurtures citizenship and democracy.

Real *UN Reform*

Those conservatives who think that "UN Reform" means the dissolution of the United Nations are now calling for the resignation of Kofi Annan. They cannot forgive the organization or its secretary general for being proven right about Iraq. Indeed, none of them were exactly friends of the UN even before that.

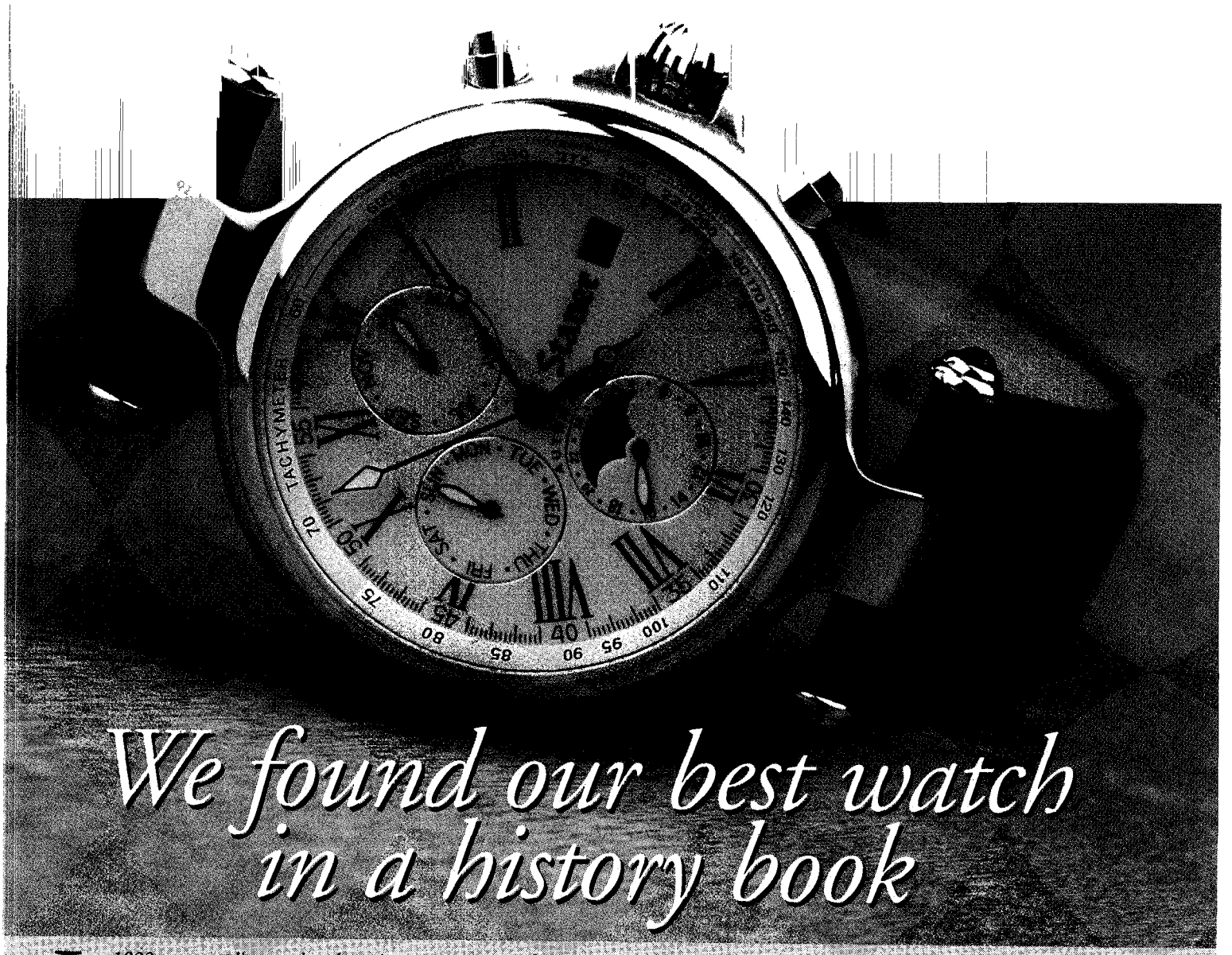
Sadly, the dust they are raising about the alleged UN oil-for-food scandal obscures the importance of a report that Annan has just delivered on how the world, and the UN, should cope with the threats of the new century. The report, *A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility*, was prepared by a high-level panel Annan appointed a year ago. The report's recommendations need approval from two-thirds of the whole membership and, above all, of the five current permanent members of the Security Council, each of whom has the right to veto any changes in the UN Charter.

Many people will focus on what the report says about which countries should be on the Security Council. But the panel concerned itself more with the far more important question of what the Council, General Assembly and Secretariat should be doing. In brief, the report says that in the face of global threats, whether from poverty, plague, terrorism or aggression, the only solutions are global, collective responses. Indeed, much of the report is an appeal to member states to implement the commitments they've already made on such issues as disarmament, development aid, HIV/AIDS and developing-country access to Northern markets.

To some extent, the panel was a rescue operation for some of the essential concepts that Annan wants embedded in the organization by the end of his second term, in 2006. One of those is the concept of humanitarian intervention. Annan asked at the UN Millennium Summit in 2000, "If humanitarian intervention is, indeed, an unacceptable assault on sovereignty, how should we respond to a Rwanda, to a Srebrenica—to gross and systematic violations of human rights that offend every precept of our common humanity?" That question was obscured by September 11, which at US insistence gave terrorism prime place on the global agenda, along with the invasion of Iraq. The invasion also did much to confirm the fears of many governments about the cynical expediency of both the "war on terror" and humanitarian intervention—which George W. Bush and Tony Blair retroactively invoked when faced with the failure of their first excuse, Iraqi weaponry.

The report tries to reconcile these fears and threats and goes a long way toward addressing rational US concerns. It offers, for example, a reasonable working definition of "terrorism" for the first time, rescuing the term from those who invoke freedom-fighter

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



We found our best watch in a history book

In 1922, a small watchmaker in Switzerland designed the first automatic watch to display the day, month and date. Only 7 of these magnificent timepieces were ever made and this watch was almost lost to history. Today, they are so rare that our watch historians are willing to bid $300,000 for an original in mint condition.

These watches were among the most stylish of the roaring 20's. The Stauer watch design that you see here has the antique color, the vintage style and the innovative functions of the original that we have seen in a Swiss museum. Even the Breguet™ style hands are designed from the original. The owner of this legendary multi-functional watch is sure to look distinguished and set apart from the crowd. This Stauer watch is a limited edition, allowing you to wear a watch far more exclusive than many luxury brands.

The watch has a 24-jewel mechanical movement, the kind desired by fine antique watch collectors. We have updated this movement with an automatic rotor thus the watch never needs to be manually wound. The watch comes in a beautiful crocodile embossed case with a free second band.

This is a chance to claim a piece of watchmaking history in an elegant design that is still priced to wear every day. This offer is being made directly to you so you can add this watch to your collection at a very affordable price. The watch comes with a 30-day no questions asked money-back guarantee. If you're not completely satisfied, simply return it for a full refund of the purchase price.

Now available for the first time at $99

Not Available in Stores

Call now to take advantage of this limited offer.

Stauer 1922 ~~$~~

3 Payments of $33+S&H

800-859-6584

Promotional Code SNN628-10

Please mention this when you call.

To order by mail, please call for details.

NEXTTEN

products for your next ten years.

14101 Southcross Drive W., Dept. SNN628-10
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337

For fastest service, call toll-free 24 hours a day **800-859-6584**

Learn more about the history of this 1922 classic at www.Nextten.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENT

status to excuse atrocities and from those in Washington who use it as a pejorative term for any dissent from their imperial project.

People and governments who genuinely want to avert civil wars and similar man-made catastrophes will welcome the panel's proposal for a peace-building commission tasked with monitoring and averting impending crises that could lead to social and national breakdowns.

The report concludes that pre-emptive operations against imminent threats may well be necessary and legal—agreeing with Blair that humanitarian intervention is already inherent in the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights—but not if they are unilateral. The report reiterates UN Charter Article 51, forbidding the use of force except in self-defense or with Security Council authorization and with a set of criteria that would prevent aggressive countries from using humanitarian excuses. In an implied rebuke to the unilateral US action in Iraq, it points out, "Allowing one to so act is to allow all." The report also takes the global community to task for its tardiness in responding to Darfur and for having allowed recidivist human rights violators like Sudan to crowd into the Human Rights Commission.

But if the rest of the world is to continue to respect the Security Council's powers to legitimize force, the report argues, its membership must be more reflective of the modern world, with representation for countries like Japan and Germany, which were excluded in 1945, and for the developing world. The report warns, however, that this expansion should not be at the expense of the Security Council's effectiveness. Recognizing that it is politically impossible to take the veto away from the existing permanent members, it recommends against giving it to new members. It also calls attention to the existing, albeit often overlooked, provision in the Charter that says that members, whether permanent or temporary, should be chosen with "due regard being specially paid, in the first instance to the contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security."

With the difficulty of consensus in mind, the report offers two alternative solutions: either six new permanent and three new temporary members (who would sit for two years, as at present) or an additional eight "semi-permanent" members (who would sit for four years) and one new temporary member. While Japan, Germany, Brazil, India and South Africa are often mentioned as suitable candidates for new permanent seats, there are other aspirants prepared to filibuster them, not to mention countries like China and the United States that weigh applicants by how often they have lent them unconditional support lately. One could wish that the better-intentioned members like Germany, rather than waste too much effort on a diplomatic push for a permanent seat, would use their self-evident credentials to lead other members toward implementing the most important part of the reforms, those that depend on states living up to their pledges and international obligations.

The report argues, with Annan's backing, that "capable and responsible states must be on the front line" against global threats. Sadly the state with the most capability shows signs of growing irresponsibility as a global citizen. If only to insure Annan's cooperation in the Iraq project, its President seems to be tacitly supporting the throwbacks in Congress baying for Annan's blood. It's time for the Democrats and the increasingly embattled rational wing of the GOP to insist on a constructive engagement with the rest of the world in general and with the United Nations in particular, both on this report and on reform of the UN. IAN WILLIAMS

Ian Williams is The Nation*'s UN correspondent.*

Due to an editorial error, the final two stanzas were dropped from Calvin Trillin's poem last week. Here is the correct version.

CALVIN TRILLIN

THE PARTY OF MORAL VALUES DISPLAYS ITS OWN IN THE CASE OF MAJORITY LEADER TOM (THE HAMMER) DELAY

I.
In order never to convey
A tolerance for going astray,
Republicans, who now hold sway,
Wrote party rules designed to say
Indicted pols must give away
Their party posts, since soon they may
Have "felon" on their résumé.
This caused a problem for DeLay.

II.
Since Tom reads black and white as gray,
His funds are buried, like Pompeii.
He's bludgeoned lobbyists to pay
For just the sort of entree they
Must have to bend the laws their way.
He's more than earned that sobriquet.
His colleagues fear, to their dismay,
He'll be indicted any day.

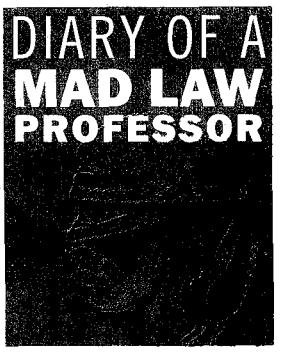
III.
Though even they cannot gainsay
Corruption's in Tom's DNA,
At first they started to inveigh
Against the putative DA
To try to cause some disarray.
And then, by voice vote, aye and nay,
They dropped the rule. It's now OK:
If Tom's indicted, he can stay.

IV.
Unless, of course, DeLay (The Hammer)
Can't serve because he's in the slammer.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PATRICIA J. WILLIAMS

Hell Hounds



The gentle essayist E.B. White once wrote of his dog Fred that he pursued each day "with the complete conviction that through vigilance and good work all porcupines, all cats, all skunks, all squirrels, all houseflies, all footballs, all evil birds in the sky could successfully be brought to account and the scene made safe and pleasant for the sensible individual—namely, him. However distorted was his crazy vision of the beautiful world, however perverse his scheme for establishing an order of goodness by murdering every creature that seemed to him bad, I had to hand him this: he really worked at it."

Fred is weighing on my mind because of a story that has received very little publicity here: In early December, some knuckleheaded police at Paris's Charles de Gaulle Airport planted a packet of plastic explosives in an innocent passenger's suitcase, "chosen at random." It was part of a training exercise for an equally knuckleheaded bomb-sniffing dog. The dog flunked the test, the suitcase went skittling down the conveyor belt, and it was apparently loaded onto a plane destined for parts unknown. The police are still looking for the dark-blue bag: "We hope the person who finds this will take it to the local authorities.... We hope they don't throw it away."

If ever there was an object lesson illustrating the need both for sane oversight of security measures and for the vigilant upholding of civil rights and liberties, this would have to be it. Since at least three of the planes upon which the missing bag might have been placed were headed to the United States, I can't help musing about it as some kind of cross between great law school hypothetical and bad action movie: How many tort cases? Let me count the ways...

The explosives didn't have a detonator so "are not thought to pose a danger" but if detonated "would probably be enough to blow a door from a car." So question number one: Why haven't all air carriers reinforced baggage compartments to make them relatively bombproof (as has El Al, with life-saving results)? And while we're thinking about it, why not reinforce cockpit doors rather than just handing pilots guns? But that's been asked before, and I guess it comes down to money, and airlines don't have any and Congress isn't about to subsidize anything so constructive, not while the Punxsutawney Groundhog Museum and the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame need porky embellishment.

But looking on the bright side, the bomb didn't explode. Or hasn't yet. So I'm trying to imagine what the average Joe would do if he opened his suitcase and found a "mobile-phone-size lump of plastic explosives" therein. Would the ordinary lay person even know what it was? Would it be unreasonable for said person to dispose of it as mysterious trash, to toss it down the incinerator in a large building, say, or perhaps leave it lying unnoticed at the bottom of a suitcase, under the bed or in the back of a closet, till a hot summer day warmed it up? Would the children in the family enjoy tossing it around like a ball? If you were not an American citizen, unable to account for its presence in your possessions, would you not be very, very frightened of bringing it to suspicious authorities, even assuming you did have an inkling of what it might be?

The whole episode is an unfortunate setup for more talk-show sneering at all things Gallic, but there is no border for disastrous human miscalculation. It makes me long to know what kinds of training exercises are employed not just in France but here at home. If we the ordinary people cannot know everything about such training, it would be very nice to be reassured about what kinds of oversight mechanisms are in place. As a culture of secrecy and a habit of anything-goes settles over the "war on terror," the failure to hold police, soldiers and spies to the highest levels of accountability can only enhance the likelihood of stupid—really, really stupid—mistakes.

The possibilities grow yet more theatrical if one imagines what might have happened if the totally unsuspecting owner of the blue suitcase in question had collected it at his destination, only to be sniffed out by better-trained, more highly professional hounds at the receiving end. Surely carrying plastic explosives aboard an international flight would get you instant casting as a terrorist or an enemy combatant. And then you might just disappear. You might be detained indefinitely. Guantánamo? A military brig? Were you under the impression that they have to tell? Recent suits challenging conditions in detention centers for illegal immigrants, moreover, indicate that there might be a few long-toothed, hyped-up hounds sauntering about such a prison, with more on their minds than mere sniffing. The degree to which one could appeal to domestic courts to challenge or appeal your detention would be in question. Your access to a lawyer would be limited. Your ability to know the evidence against you would likely be constrained. Somebody might be good enough to tell you that the Supreme Court is working on the question of how much due process you deserve, but you wouldn't want to hold your breath.

Assume also that, as the authorities are snapping on the cuffs, they never link your presumptively evil terrorizing threat of a self to the teensy bureaucratic snafu in a distant little land peopled by effete, funny-speaking, liberal friends of Mr. Kerry. How you might regret that you put off writing that check to the ACLU.

Finally, just for fun, let's assume that the French police didn't even realize that they'd lost the little lump of explosives, for, like E.B. White's dog Fred, they "had no contemplative life, but... held as a steady gleam the belief that under the commonplace stone and behind the unlikely piece of driftwood lay the stuff of high adventure and the opportunity to save the nation." (In reality, the gendarmes would have us know that the whole affaire resulted from only a tiny "error of surveillance for ten seconds or a little more.") But errors of surveillance come in all sizes; some go on for ten years, or possibly forever. That's why we have habeas corpus. At least that's why we used to. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ERIC ALTERMAN

'Big Ideas Need Sharp Elbows'

We may never reach a consensus on just what it was about George W. Bush that led so many millions of Americans to ignore his Administration's dishonesty, incompetence, ideological fanaticism and corruption and vote for the guy. Early exit poll analysis put a premium on "moral values," but that explanation evaporated with even rudimentary scrutiny. Clearly the most significant advantage Bush enjoyed came in the various national security categories, despite the fact that this is the area where the Bush Administration's myriad failings, both personal and professional, ought to be most obvious.

Evidently, thirty years of attacks on liberals' national security credentials have taken their toll. Given both his experience as a senator and his heroism during the Vietnam War, abroad and at home, John Kerry should have easily trumped Bush here, but he didn't even come close. During the brief post–cold war/pre–"war on terror" interregnum, Bill Clinton could squeak past George H.W. Bush with a largely economic argument, but Osama bin Laden put an end to those days together with the Twin Towers. Unless liberals find a way to reverse this trend, they will forfeit election after election, notwithstanding the increasing extremism and irresponsibility of Bush & Co. in virtually every area of public policy.

We didn't always have this problem. From FDR's victory in 1932 through the election of 1968, liberals were viewed as "tougher" on national security than skinflint—frequently isolationist—conservatives, and the Democrats were the natural party of government. This does not mean they were always right; indeed, there is much in the conduct of US foreign policy under liberal leadership that turned out quite badly. (*Nation* readers hardly require a lesson in those misadventures.) The point is that, like it or not, the perception of "strength" is the sine qua non of American politics. As Bill Clinton famously observed, it is politically safer to be perceived to be "strong and wrong" rather than weak and right.

Not long ago at New York's Plaza Hotel, a few hundred people came together to salute two liberals who played a crucial role in creating what historian Kevin Mattson terms a "fighting faith"—one that appealed to the main currents of American political discourse while simultaneously inspiring a sense of solidarity and common purpose among middle-class and poor Americans. At the age of 96 and 87 respectively, John Kenneth Galbraith and Arthur Schlesinger Jr. have participated in as many of the great political and intellectual battles of postwar US history as any two men alive. Political comrades and intellectual allies, both men have pursued careers that, for a time, involved combining political combat and intellectual disputation. Remarkably—though it was not always apparent at the moment these disputes were taking place—neither has allowed the demands of politics to compromise his intellectual work. Nor, at the same time, have they held themselves to be above painful but necessary compromises that define political effectiveness.

This is no easy task. Mattson's invaluable new study, *When America Was Great: The Fighting Faith of Postwar Liberalism*, quotes Galbraith at a Congress of Cultural Freedom gathering in Milan in 1955, attacking intellectuals who treat their ideological constructs as reality. The goal for both men, as Mattson defines it, was a "tough-minded realism that saw intellect in service to the world of politics, a world of messy compromise and inevitable failures." This is not to argue that political involvement is the only appropriate role for intellectuals. Schlesinger, who remains almost the ideal example of the intellectual *engagé*, greatly admired Richard Hofstadter and Lionel Trilling, who always retained their detachment. At the same time, Mattson notes, he praised Murray Kempton for offering an "antidote to the danger that those with influence might take themselves too seriously."

Of course, both men made their share of mistakes, political and intellectual. But they were not the most costly kind, thanks to an unyielding commitment of both the economist and the historian to battling the effects of extremism of all stripes. A lifetime of loyalty to intellectual inquiry helped to infuse each man's career—both inside and outside the political arena—with an abiding respect for the difficulties involved in remaking men and women according to ideological precepts, as well as with a strong sense of modesty about just how much mere politics could accomplish. Galbraith once explained that he always sought "a measure of detachment. I've felt that one should hold some part of one's self in reserve, never be completely sure of being right." Schlesinger concurred, noting that "democratic politics, as Orwell has observed, permits the participant 'to keep part of yourself inviolate.'" Both men lived up to what Mattson identifies as the "classic tenet of the liberal state," which acknowledges "many limitations in its demands upon men, [while] the total state acknowledges none."

At the event at the Plaza—organized by William vanden Heuvel in support of the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute, at Hyde Park—friends, family and admirers of all political persuasions paid tribute to the numerous moments in each man's life when their actions contributed to the common good by demonstrating the kind of toughness, both moral and intellectual, that liberals are perceived to lack today. I have my biases, but I thought Bill Moyers best captured the combination of passion, intellect and political smarts both men helped pass down to a younger generation of liberals, qualities sorely needed today if liberals are ever again to exercise national power:

"Ken Galbraith and Arthur Schlesinger engaged in the passions of our times and brought to the liberal project the fire of deep conviction, the gravity of fierce intellect and the temperament of the tested warrior of ideas who accepts that the achievable is possible while the perfect can only be imagined.... The hopes of common people rest not with saints but with flawed champions who understand that in a world where bad ideas wear brass knuckles, big ideas need sharp elbows."

Amen. Now, the hard part... ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTICLES

NEW POWER FOR 'OLD EUROPE'

by MARK SCHAPIRO

The Bush Administration has interpreted its victory in the 2004 election as a mandate to take its free-market policies to further extremes. It is signaling its determination to unhinge US industry from what remains of regulations limiting the poisons in our water, our bodies and our air. But while they are newly emboldened at home, the Administration and its corporate allies are looking warily across the Atlantic to Brussels. Here, in the capital of the European Union, an unprecedented challenge to longstanding practices of American industry is unfolding.

Since the fall of the Berlin wall, the European Union has been steadily transforming itself from a facilitator of trade to a sophisticated geopolitical power with the teeth to back up its policies—an evolution that has occurred largely under the American public's radar. Over the past decade, EU member states have ceded governing and enforcement authority to Brussels in areas ranging from environmental regulation to food safety, accounting standards, telecommunications policy and oversight of corporate mergers. As a result, US companies that do business in Europe—which remains America's largest export market—are quickly learning that "old Europe" is now wielding new world power.

Just this year, US manufacturers of such goods as chemicals, cars and cosmetics have been confronted with EU regulations that force a choice: Either conform to the EU's standards of preemptive screening for toxicity—far tougher than US standards—or risk sacrificing the European market, which, with 450 million people, is now larger than that of the United States. In the process, the European Union is challenging US presumptions of unilateral decision-making on issues with tremendous consequences for American companies and consumers, treading on ground that has long been considered sacred turf.

"Americans are in for a rude shock," says Clyde Prestowitz, a former Reagan Commerce Department official and author of *Rogue Nation: American Unilateralism and the Failure of Good Intentions*. "Other players are establishing their own standards, and they have the muscle to make them stick. We are headed into a new era."

REACH and Ye Shall Find

Last summer, while Americans were focused on the worsening crisis in Iraq and the intensifying presidential campaign, the US chemical industry was consumed by plans at the EU's Environment Commission to complete the details of a proposed regulation known as REACH—Registration, Evaluation and Authorization of Chemicals. For the $500 billion chemical industry, REACH threatens a revolution in chemical regulation—upending decades-long practices that were pioneered in the United States.

In 1976 the US Congress passed the Toxic Substances Control Act, which required chemicals introduced after the law took effect in 1979 to be tested before being registered for use. The problem with TSCA—or what critics call the "Toxic Substances Conversation Act"—is that 80 percent of the chemicals on the market today were introduced before 1979. But Europe at that time followed the US model, so in effect TSCA established the global standard. No more. REACH is the first effort to secure environmental data on some 30,000 chemicals that have been on the market in the United States and around the world without any significant testing of their toxicity on human health and the environment.

These include an array of highly toxic substances that were effectively grandfathered into the market by TSCA, including industrial solvents like ethyl benzene, known to cause nerve damage; heavy metals like cadmium, an ingredient in many paints and industrial ceramics that can cause kidney failure; and a family of plastic byproducts, called furans, that are potent carcinogens and endocrine disrupters. Many of these chemicals have already been found in high concentration in the blood of Americans and Europeans; during a World Health Organization convention in Budapest last June, the World Wildlife Fund International revealed forty-four different hazardous chemicals in the bloodstream of top EU officials, including then–Environment Commissioner Margot Wallstrom, now the vice president of communications for the European Commission, the executive arm of the EU.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The proposed regulations, according to Robert Donkers, one of the authors of REACH and now posted in Washington as environment counselor for the European Commission's US delegation, evolved out of the realization that little was known about chemicals contained in a vast array of consumer products. "There was great political anxiety in Europe when we discovered that carcinogenic chemicals were being released from consumer products like diapers and softeners in baby toys. We discovered that neither consumers nor the government was informed about the chemical properties of what is in those and other products and how they break down. An overhaul was needed."

Under REACH, chemicals determined to be "carcinogens, mutagens or repro[ductive] toxins" would have to be taken off the market within a decade. According to the EPA's own standards, this could amount to as many as 1,400 chemicals. For other chemicals, REACH establishes several layers of testing for toxicity—with strictures that grow tougher as the quantity and risk increases. The proscriptions also apply to chemicals in manufactured goods: REACH encourages substitutions for chemicals that pose "potentially serious or irreversible threats" to human health. A new European Chemicals Agency would administer the program from Helsinki.

'The chemical industry is scared that the American people might not want to be second-class world citizens.'
—Charlotte Brody

The REACH directive represents an upheaval in the basic philosophy of chemical regulation, flipping the American presumption of "innocent until proven guilty" on its head by placing the burden of proof on manufacturers to prove chemicals are safe—what is known as the "precautionary principle." REACH adds extra bite with a requirement that toxicity data be posted publicly on the new agency's website. Thus, test results that were once tightly held by chemical companies will suddenly be available to citizens and regulators across the globe. That prospect foreshadows trouble for US chemical producers.

"The chemical industry is scared that the American people might not want to be second-class world citizens," says Charlotte Brody, executive director of Health Care Without Harm, a Washington, DC–based coalition of healthcare professionals. "If people in Europe have chemicals in their toys that are not dangerous, maybe we don't want those same chemicals for our kids." With REACH, the Europeans hit a powerful nerve. The chemical industry launched an intensive lobbying campaign, conducted in parallel with the Bush Administration, to derail the proposed directive before it becomes law.

In late January, when Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld issued his now-famous slight of our European allies as "the old Europe," inside the State Department "old Europe" was causing panic: A draft position paper circulating inside Foggy Bottom expressed alarm at the evolving REACH proposal. By early March, the State Department sponsored a visit by Dow Chemical executives to Athens to lobby the Greeks—who at that time occupied the EU presidency—to oppose REACH. On April 29, Secretary of State Colin Powell sent out a seven-page cable to US embassies in all the EU member states claiming that REACH "could present obstacles to trade and innovation" and cost US chemical producers tens of billions of dollars in lost exports. The cable stated that REACH's precautionary principle was "problematic"—striking at the heart of the difference between the US and European regulatory approaches toward potential environmental hazards.

The State Department's tone and apocalyptic predictions that REACH could adversely affect "the majority of U.S. goods exported to the EU" (over $150 billion last year) mirrored the position papers of the industry's main lobbying organization, the American Chemical Council, on REACH. The State Department claimed that REACH would be "unworkable in its implementation, [would] disrupt global trade, and adversely impact innovation." In June US Trade Representative Robert Zoellick reiterated that argument in a submission to the World Trade Organization's Technical Barriers to Trade Committee in Geneva.

Those assertions have been vigorously disputed by the EU. In October the EU claimed in a countersubmission to the WTO that the costs of implementing REACH over the next eleven to fifteen years could total $3.5–$6.5 billion, but that those costs would be offset over time by profits generated from safer alternatives—and compare favorably to the $60 billion it estimates would be saved in chemical-related health costs alone over the next three decades.

Zoellick's objections to REACH prompted Senators Frank Lautenberg and James Jeffords to request that he provide details about who the Administration consulted before issuing its position to the WTO. "We are troubled," the senators wrote Zoellick on October 19, "by reports that the Administration fashioned its position on REACH to reflect unsubstantiated cost concerns raised by a narrow segment of U.S. industry, without any genuine consideration of the likely health and environmental benefits that such policies would generate." Thus far there has been no response to their queries.

EU officials I spoke with describe practically weekly visits from delegations representing the Commerce Department, the US Trade Representative, the State Department and/or the American Chemical Council. In April, then-Environment Commissioner Wallstrom complained to a meeting of EU and EPA officials in Charlottesville, Virginia, that REACH had been subject to "enormous interest and lobbying," but she insisted that the "consensus" for reform of the current system remains strong. The lobbying continues: In October the US mission to the EU sent out a joint appeal with the Australian mission to the EU missions of Canada, Japan and other Asian nations to attend a meeting to develop a "coordinated outreach" strategy among "EU trading partners" on REACH. Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) were invited to meetings with the US- and Australian-orchestrated delegations so the latter could communicate their opposition to REACH—an extraordinary intrusion of the United States into a debate over internal EU policy.

Never before has an EU proposal drawn fire from such heavy guns. The US chemical industry, like other American industries, has been discovering that a presence in Brussels is now a must—

Mark Schapiro is editorial director of the Center for Investigative Reporting.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and has had to learn new ways to exert influence in a governing institution with three chambers, twenty-five countries and twenty national languages, and in which the usual cocktail of campaign contributions, arm-twisting and seduction are neither warmly received nor, in the case of campaign contributions, legal. "We've certainly had to learn a lot about a new parliament, new procedures, new political parties," says Joe Mayhew, senior adviser to the American Chemical Council.

The lobbying campaign has largely backfired. Its primary effect has been to delay a final vote on REACH in the European Parliament from February to the middle of next year at the earliest. But there is little doubt it will pass—almost a decade in the making, support for REACH in the Parliament stretches broadly across party lines. "It is not a question of if but when," says the EU's Robert Donkers. Hearings will commence in the Parliament on January 19. The current Dutch president of the EU has committed to forging political agreements around REACH for consideration by the Council of Ministers before the hearings begin.

The fact that policies emanating from Brussels now threaten longstanding American industrial practices is a sign of how profoundly trans-Atlantic relations are shifting. "We used to have to deal with individual countries," comments Mayhew of the American Chemical Council. "We'd pay attention to, say, France. Not to be pejorative here, but we wouldn't really pay much attention to what Spain was doing. Having the EU as a single bloc with regulatory authority is a new thing for us."

No US government agency regulates cosmetics, but an outside study found suspected or known carcinogens in dozens of products.

A Makeover for the Cosmetics Industry

Every morning across America, tens of millions of women apply to themselves an average of nine "personal care" products. From tubes and bottles and delicate brushes come the tools of beauty and self-preservation known as cosmetics. Users of these products might assume that somebody is watching to insure that potentially toxic ingredients are kept away from intimate contact with their body. They would be wrong. Neither the Food and Drug Administration nor any other government agency regulates ingredients used in the preparation of cosmetics. The Food, Drugs and Cosmetics Act of 1938 established extraordinarily lax standards for the regulation of cosmetic ingredients. But earlier this year, when the Environmental Working Group compared the ingredients in 7,400 personal care products with potentially hazardous chemicals identified by the Centers for Disease Control and other leading medical institutions, dozens of varieties of skin and tanning lotions, nail polish, mascara and other personal care products were found to contain known and suspected carcinogenic, mutagenic and endocrine disrupting chemicals.

The improvisational nature of the cosmetics industry is about to change. EU member states submitted plans to the European Commission to institute new guidelines established by what's known as the "Cosmetics Directive," which takes effect this coming February. The directive calls for the removal of ingredients suspected of causing "harm to human health" from cosmetics and personal care products in Europe. The effects of that directive are being felt around the world.

The main regulatory body for cosmetics in the United States is the industry itself, represented by the Cosmetic, Toiletry and Fragrance Association (CTFA). What that means, in effect, is that several times a year a Cosmetic Ingredient Review board (CIR)—made up of toxicologists drawn primarily from universities and paid for by the CTFA—reviews the existing literature on ingredients and makes recommendations to the industry. There is nothing that requires any member company to respond to the board's safety or health recommendations.

Over the past three years the review board suggested that at least nineteen ingredients be removed from personal care products—including coal tar, a hair dye linked to high rates of bladder cancer among hairdressers; sodium borate, sometimes called boric acid, which has been linked to testicular development problems and is included in Desitin diaper rash ointment for infants, and which the CIR recommended "should not be used on infant or injured skin"; iodopropynyl butylcarbamate, a mutagen in animal testing included in a South Beach tanning spray that the CIR recommended "not be used in products intended to be aerosolized"; and ethoxyethanol acetate in nail polish, which the CIR stated is "unsafe for use in cosmetic products." The FDA has done nothing to mandate removal of these or legions of other potentially dangerous ingredients, according to the Environmental Working Group.

Last spring the Safe Cosmetics Campaign, a group of women's and environmental health NGOs, sent an appeal to some 250 firms that sell personal care products in the United States, asking that they conform to the health requirements of the EU's Cosmetics Directive as well as take other actions to insure more stringent controls over potentially toxic ingredients. Of those, the campaign heard from sixty-five companies; responses ranged from resistance to accommodation. Revlon and Estee Lauder replied by citing the CTFA's official response to the EU: On March 25, CTFA stated that the directive "represents an unnecessary change in the philosophy of regulation of cosmetic ingredients in the EU."

Other major producers, like L'Oreal, Liz Claiborne and Gillette, responded that they were already beginning the process of reformulating their products to conform to the requirements of the Directive; the Gap and Alberto Culver indicated that they would do so if they discovered ingredients within the EU's range of health concerns. Natural product companies, like Aveda, Custom Aesthetics and numerous small firms, claimed they were already in compliance. Several of the largest companies, like Unilever, have yet to respond, while Procter & Gamble insisted to the campaign that it would continue its policy of formulating products on a market-by-market basis. After the Safe Cosmetics Campaign began running a newspaper ad in the fall about the potential health dangers from cosmetics, Revlon shifted gears, indicating its willingness to abide by the EU's new strict rules.

"We are asking companies to be accountable for the safety of their cosmetics," says Janet Nudelman, program director of the Breast Cancer Fund. To accomplish that goal, public health advocates looked not to Washington but to Brussels—where the EU is now a force that enjoys transatlantic reach and is far tougher than our own FDA.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Car's Life

Jean Tinguely was a Swiss sculptor renowned for his grand mechanical creations, huge machines full of whirring wheels and gears that were designed to self-destruct. His works, widely dispersed through Europe's finer art institutions—and showing up more rarely in the United States—evoke a kind of grinding perfection, a speed-up of what is built into every mechanical device: its own death. Much like the automobile, which may purr steadily for ten or twenty years or even longer. But ultimately those gears and crankshafts, like a Tinguely machine, will fail, and the automobile will die. Then what happens?

Every year aging cars, left to decay in scrapyards or fields or suburban driveways, create more than 15 million tons of waste across the United States and Europe. Many components in those autos contain toxic ingredients, including metals like lead, mercury, chromium and cadmium, which are known to induce problems such as nerve damage and cancer in laboratory animals. The plastic in the seats and dashboards never biodegrades. Cars and their component parts are left to despoil the landscape, leach into the soil and poison groundwater. There is nothing to stop them.

'Economically, Europe stands toe to toe with the United States. We can't dictate to it any longer. We have to negotiate.' —Clyde Prestowitz

Across the Atlantic, the EU has implemented a program with the oddly philosophical title "End of Life Vehicles Directive." Starting in 2006, all cars produced or sold in the EU must be built with at least 85 percent recyclable components; by 2015 that figure rises to 95 percent. The directive also bans toxic heavy metals like cadmium and requires that manufacturers take responsibility for disposing of their cars. According to the European Commission's administrator for the vehicles program, Rosalinde van der Vlies, European, Japanese and Korean car manufacturers are already beginning to adapt their production processes in anticipation of the new requirements.

For US car manufacturers the directive presents a historic challenge. American car companies export virtually no cars to Europe; thus US manufacturers are under little direct pressure to adapt to European standards. But each of the US Big Three has substantial ties to the European market: Ford has its own Ford Europe production facilities and owns the Jaguar line in Britain. General Motors owns the German Opel, the Swedish Saab and produces its own line of vehicles in Britain under the Vauxhall label. Daimler-Chrysler is owned by the German manufacturer Daimler-Benz.

Glenn Mercer, an auto industry analyst for the consulting firm McKinsey & Company, says there is no sign of these reforms' being instituted by either US parent or subsidiary companies, nor is a serious effort being made to develop alternatives to the toxic chemicals included in American cars. The concept of being responsible for the ultimate disposal of those cars has been received in this country like a message from another planet.

Mercer comments: "Every time you drive a car you've made a decision to pollute. With every car, you have the decision: Do you dispose of it in a controlled setting, as required by the European Union? Do you find alternatives to the chemicals and take the hit on sales that may result from a higher price? Or do you leave them in your car, and have them dispose themselves into the environment over fifteen years?" Thus far, the United States has been taking the latter approach—dual production according to dueling standards.

At the core of the EU's regulatory approach is what van der Vlies calls "life cycle analysis": assessing the actual costs over the lifetime of consumer products, from their creation to their demise. The End of Life Vehicles Directive is intended to insure that those costs are shared by the manufacturer—while providing a powerful incentive to develop more sustainable alternatives.

Every European diplomat I spoke with was careful to insist that Europe's new generation of environmental directives is not intended to "impose" Europe's will upon the United States. Camilo Barcia Garcia-Villamil, the Spanish consul in San Francisco, who spent fifteen years working with the EU in Brussels, comments: "The European Union now has increased decision-making capacity. And if American companies want to be active in the European market, they must take account of European rules. We are not imposing our standards. We are making foreign companies respect our standards when they are in Europe." This is diplomatic language that is new in the context of transatlantic relations—though its inverted formulation would be quite familiar to generations of postwar American policy-makers.

"Economically, Europe stands toe to toe with the United States," says Clyde Prestowitz, now head of the Economic Strategy Institute in Washington. "We can't dictate to it any longer. We have to negotiate."

The New Power of 'Old Europe'

When Henry Kissinger was Secretary of State for President Ford in 1977, he famously asked in frustration, "What telephone number do you dial to reach Europe?" Today, the area code for that number is clear: 32-2, for Brussels, which has been transformed from the provincial capital of a small European country into an international metropolis bustling with a multilingual, highly educated EU workforce drawn from across the continent.

The European Union has its roots in a simple "coal and steel pact" signed between France and Germany in 1951 to facilitate trade in those critical commodities to aid in postwar reconstruction. Over the subsequent decades of the cold war, an integrated Europe was supported by the United States as a restraint on Germany's resurgence and a critical Western bulwark against the expansion of the Soviet Union.

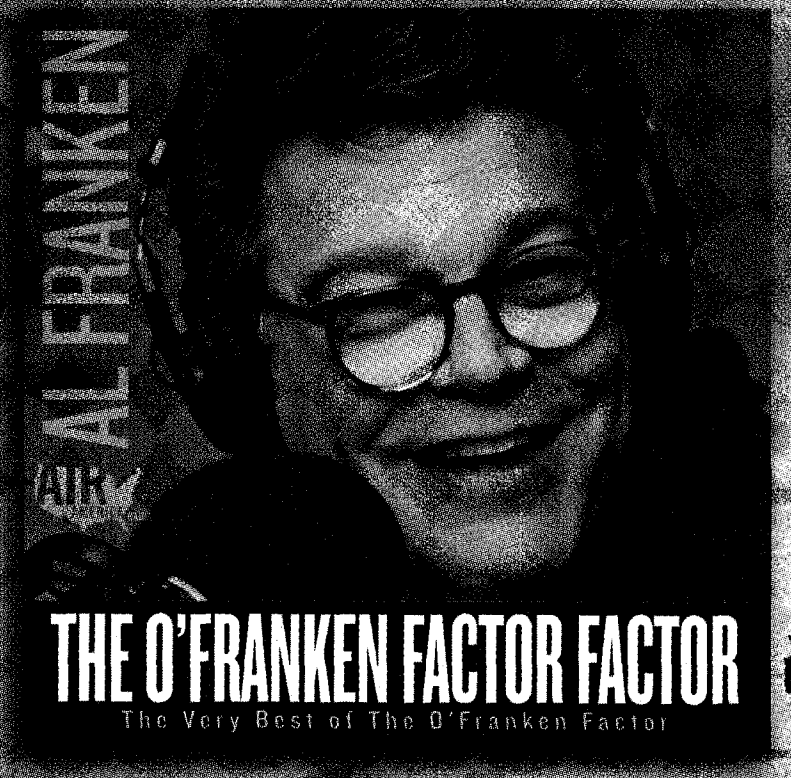
The pact would later evolve into the Common Market and, finally, into the political and economic powerhouse of today's European Union. For the first time in history, a superpower has emerged that is not based on nationalistic ambitions or military power but upon a voluntary submission of national aspirations to a transnational authority. Its architects were well aware of the EU's departure from the usual march of political history: Jacques Delors, the visionary European Commission president from 1985 to 1994, used to refer lightheartedly to the evolving Union as an "Unidentified Political Object."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Never doubt that a single compact disc can change the world.

Indeed it's the only thing that ever has."

—Al Franken



AIR AMERICA RADIO

In stores now, or order online at

www.airamericaradio.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

On foreign affairs, Europeans continue to have trouble speaking with one voice—as the divisions in Europe over the US invasion of Iraq showed. But on domestic matters, the EU speaks for Europe—and it is those initiatives, emanating from Brussels, that are sending powerful messages across the Atlantic. "In Europe today, we are seeing a focal point of regulatory action other than the United States that, for the first time in the postwar period, is driving world markets," says David Wirth, a trade law specialist who negotiated the Montreal Protocol on ozone depletion on behalf of the United States and is currently director of international studies at Boston College Law School.

Indeed, a broad spectrum of American industry has already felt the potency that comes from an integrated market and differing standards of environmental and consumer protection. Microsoft, for example, was fined $497 million earlier this year by the EU for its "anti-competitive practices," and General Electric's long-planned takeover of Honeywell was skewered in 2002 by the EU's Competition Commission, which has now emerged as a critical first stop by corporations en route to a merger. "It used to be," comments Amelia Torres, spokeswoman for the Competition Commission, "that the EU would be the last part of any deal. Now they know they have to come here first." The agribusiness company Monsanto became accustomed to contentious forays into Brussels while struggling to obtain EU acceptance of its genetically engineered seeds.

EU politics are a complicated business; the Parliament is as tumultuous a democratic body as any. The recent controversy over the nomination of a new European justice commissioner with extreme views on women and homosexuals illustrated some of the social and political frictions that continue to divide Europeans, a passing storm to which much of the American media responded with smug condescension. These developments came on the heels of a European parliamentary election last June that drastically changed the composition of the legislature: Ten new member countries, most from the orbit of the former Soviet Union, sent delegations to the Parliament; 50 percent of the MEPs who won election had never before served in Brussels. But these changes show little sign of derailing the regulatory policies that are now embedded in the EU's machinery of government.

Now that Europe has a phone number, US ardor for integration has begun to cool. "The White House is questioning whether it's a good idea for Europe to be speaking with one voice," says Fraser Cameron, who served with the European Commission's delegation to Washington until 2002 and is now director of studies at the European Policy Center in Brussels.

Cameron points out that the United States and the European Union remain each other's most significant trading partners in the world—our entanglements are deep and abiding. But as Europe becomes a more assertive political force, the question will become, as he puts it, "Why shouldn't Americans enjoy the same standards as Europeans?"

Such a basic question used to run in the other direction, when the United States set the gold standard for the world's environmental health. And the answer strikes at the core of the Bush Administration's most savored narratives—that we, alone, are masters of our nation's fate. ■

WHAT WENT WRONG—AND RIGHT—FOR UNIONS IN THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.

Lessons for Labor

DAVID MOBERG

On election day, Milwaukee County Labor Council president John Goldstein, wearing a black T-shirt proclaiming, "We're Taking Back America," was juggling a CB radio, walkie-talkie and cell phone simultaneously, helping to deploy 400 union volunteers. They were out in neighborhoods, knocking on doors and dragging voters to the polls; monitoring polling irregularities; urging voters to have patience with long lines; and working for other organizations, such as the Democratic Party and America Coming Together (ACT). But this frenzied activity simply capped at least a year's organizing by unions reaching members by telephone, mail and visits at home and work. Union swing voters got around thirty contacts, including mailings on issues "sandwiched" between reinforcing calls and visits. Union-backed programs greatly increased registration of both members and nonmembers.

RYAN INZANA

Across the country, especially in battleground states, the labor effort was similarly intense, with more unions working harder and longer than ever. "There was more—underlined five times—of everything," said AFSCME (public employees) president Gerald McEntee. This year's mobilization coordinated by the AFL-CIO was more than three times larger than in 2000, with 5,000 staff and members paid to work full time on politics and more than 225,000 volunteers. Unions contacted 92 percent of members by mail at home, doubling the 2000 effort, and 31 percent personally at work, an increase by half in their most effective tactic. Unions spent massively, more on voter education than on campaign contributions. The total isn't available, but the SEIU (service employees) spent $65 million, AFSCME $50 million and the AFL-CIO $45 million.

In the end, of course, it didn't do the trick, either nationally or in a key labor stronghold, Ohio. But both directly and acting indi-

David Moberg, a senior editor at In These Times, *writes frequently for* The Nation *on labor issues.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Western Civilization:

The Way You Wish It Had Been Taught

Find out why in this captivating 48-lecture series from The Teaching Company

From its humble beginnings in the great river valleys of Iraq and Egypt to the dawn of the modern world, discover the essential nature, evolution, and perceptions of Western civilization.

With these 48 lectures on the people, places, ideas, and events that make up **The Foundations of Western Civilization,** Professor Thomas F. X. Noble invites you to explore the unique human experience in what has come to be called "Western civilization."

Your learning will cover the latter stages of the Agricultural Revolution to the doorstep of the Scientific Revolution, from roughly 3000 B.C. to A.D. 1600, when the "foundations" of the modern West come into view.

Professor Noble will walk you through history as it develops, taking into account such themes as ecology, geography, and climate; government and economics; religion; work and leisure; philosophy; literature; art and architecture; and even virtues, values, and aesthetics.

A Powerful Learning Experience

This broad and panoramic series will help you pull an enormous sweep of history together into one coherent—though by no means closed—framework.

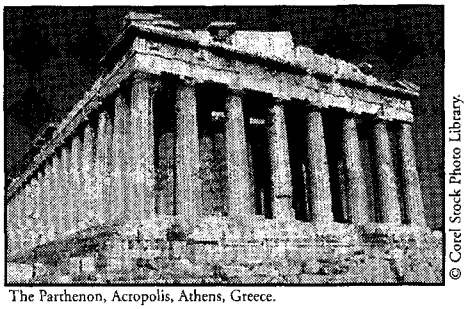
By surveying Mesopotamia to modernity, and everything in between, you will pursue answers to the questions of what "the West" most essentially is or has been thought to be, and what makes it distinctive among other world civilizations—not necessarily better, but surely unique.

A Great Professor

Thomas F. X. Noble (Ph.D., Michigan State University) is a noted history teacher at the University of Notre Dame. While teaching at the University of Virginia, he won the Alumni Distinguished Professor award. He holds three fellowships and is the author of numerous articles and books.

About Our Sale Prices

Why is the sale price for this course so much lower than its regular price? Every course goes on sale at least once a year. Producing large quantities of only the sale courses keeps costs down and allows us to pass the savings on to you. Order before December 12, 2004 to receive these savings.



© Corel Stock Photo Library.

The Parthenon, Acropolis, Athens, Greece.

About The Teaching Company

We review hundreds of top-rated professors from America's best colleges and universities each year. From this extraordinary group, we choose only those rated highest by panels of our customers. Fewer than 10% of these world-class scholar-teachers are selected to make The Great Courses. We've been doing this since 1990, producing more than 2,000 hours of material in modern and ancient history, philosophy, literature, fine arts, the sciences, and mathematics for intelligent, engaged, adult lifelong learners. If a course is ever less than completely satisfying, you may exchange it for another or we will refund your money promptly.

Lecture Titles

"Western," "Civilization," and "Foundations" ... History Begins at Sumer ... Egypt—The Gift of the Nile ... The Hebrews ... A Succession of Empires ... Wide-Ruling Agamemnon ... Dark Age and Archaic Greece ... The Greek Polis—Sparta ... The Greek Polis—Athens ... Civic Culture ... The Birth of History ... From Greek Religion to Socratic Philosophy ... Plato and Aristotle ... The Failure of the Polis and the Rise of Alexander ... The Hellenistic World ... The Rise of Rome ... The Roman Republic ... Roman Imperialism ... The Culture of the Roman Republic ... Rome—From Republic to Empire ... The Pax Romana ... Rome's Golden and Silver Ages ... Jesus and the New Testament ... The Emergence of a Christian Church ... Late Antiquity ... Barbarians and Emperors ... The Emergence of the Catholic Church ... Christian Culture in Late Antiquity ... Muhammad and Islam ... The Birth of Byzantium ... Barbarian Kingdoms in the West ... The World of Charlemagne ... The Carolingian Renaissance ... The Expansion of Europe ... The Chivalrous Society ... Medieval Political Traditions, I ... Medieval Political Traditions, II ... Scholastic Culture ... Vernacular Culture ... The Crisis of Renaissance Europe ... The Renaissance Problem ... Renaissance Portraits ... The Northern Renaissance ... The Protestant Reformation, I ... The Protestant Reformation, II ... Catholic Reforms and "Confessionalization" ... Exploration and Empire ... What Challenges Remain?

THE TEACHING COMPANY®
The Joy of Lifelong Learning Every Day
GREAT PROFESSORS, GREAT COURSES, GREAT VALUE GUARANTEED.

SAVE UP TO $390!
OFFER GOOD UNTIL DECEMBER 12, 2004

1-800-TEACH-12 (1-800-832-2412)
Fax: 703-378-3819

Special offer is available online at
www.TEACH12.com/1ntn

THE Great Courses™
THE TEACHING COMPANY®
4151 Lafayette Center Drive, Suite 100
Chantilly, VA 20151-1232

Priority Code 17869

Please send me **The Foundations of Western Civilization,** which consists of 48 half-hour lectures, with complete lecture outlines.

- ☐ **DVD $129.95** (reg. $519.95) **SAVE $390!** plus $20 shipping, handling, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee.
- ☐ **Videotape $99.95** (reg. $399.95) **SAVE $300!** plus $15 shipping, handling, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee.
- ☐ **Audio CD $89.95** (reg. $359.95) **SAVE $270!** plus $15 shipping, handling, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee.
- ☐ **Audiotape $64.95** (reg. $249.95) **SAVE $185!** plus $10 shipping, handling, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee.
- ☐ **Check or Money Order enclosed**

* Non-U.S. Orders: Additional shipping charges apply. Call or visit the FAQ page at our website for details.
**Virginia residents please add 5% sales tax.

Charge my credit card:

☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover ☐ American Express

ACCOUNT NUMBER EXP. DATE

SIGNATURE

NAME (PLEASE PRINT)

MAILING ADDRESS

CITY/STATE/ZIP

PHONE *(If we have questions regarding your order—required for international orders)*

☐ **FREE CATALOG.** Please send me a free copy of your current catalog (no purchase necessary).

Special offer is available online at www.TEACH12.com/1ntn
Offer Good Through: December 12, 2004

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rectly through other groups, unions proved again to be the cornerstone of Democratic politics, especially in personal contact with voters, where the war was fought most intensely. Union members turned out in greater numbers than average: They are 8 percent of eligible voters but were 14 percent of voters in the presidential election, and another 10 percent of voters came from a household with a union member.

They also voted disproportionately for Kerry. A postelection poll by Hart Research for the AFL-CIO found that union members voted for Kerry over Bush by 65 percent to 33 percent. In the battleground states, where labor's effort was most intense, Hart found that AFL-CIO members voted for Kerry 68 percent to 31 percent. Other exit and postelection polls showed a slightly smaller majority—ranging from 61 to 63 percent—of union members voting for Kerry nationally.

Labor's political operation, which has steadily improved since John Sweeney became president of the AFL-CIO in 1995, was technically more sophisticated this year, and there were more ways in which everyone, from union presidents to local organizers, was held accountable. Unions also did more to get members active, as when the SEIU paid 2,038 members to take leave from their jobs to be "Heroes" doing full-time political organizing. This grassroots push built "a level of member activity and skill" that will strengthen unions in organizing and other work, argues SEIU international secretary treasurer Anna Burger. Even in losing, many members were excited by the work. "I'm part of the process," Harvey, Illinois, street department worker Brian Boyd said as he volunteered in Milwaukee. "I can look in the mirror and say, 'I did fight the man.'"

The challenge for labor—and the Democrats—is clear. 'We don't have enough members,' says the AFL-CIO's Karen Ackerman.

But labor's work is important far beyond its ranks. If Democrats hope to win in the future, it's important that they learn at least two lessons from the union effort. First, ongoing organization and direct, personal contact with voters are crucial. Both Democratic Party organization and voter party identification have slipped drastically in recent decades. This year new groups, like ACT, inspired by labor's success in recent elections, took on some traditional party tasks of registering, educating and mobilizing voters. But Bush won partly because Republicans, learning as well from labor, mounted a massive volunteer mobilization effort that was complemented by conservative churches, the GOP's counterpart to organized labor.

It's been hard for unions struggling to maintain their numbers to expand their clout at the ballot box. Although union membership has declined as a percentage of the workforce, the number of union-household voters did increase this year. At the same time, overall turnout was up, and the union-household share of the electorate slipped 2 percent from 2002. Unions also boosted members' support for Kerry a couple of points above Gore's vote. There will always be conservative union members who vote Republican, but the diverse nature of membership gives unions a better chance than many progressive groups to sway swing voters.

Because unions can use dues money only for political work among members, the challenge for labor—and the Democrats—is straightforward: "We don't have enough union members," says AFL-CIO political director Karen Ackerman. If unions represented the same share of the workforce that they did twenty years ago, Kerry would almost certainly have won.

The AFL-CIO tried to expand its political universe this year with a new organization, Working America. Organizers in Ohio—as well as smaller projects in Florida, Washington and Missouri—knocked on doors in working-class neighborhoods, finding people who were not union members but supported a lowest-common-denominator union agenda about jobs, healthcare and overtime pay. In less than a year they signed up 750,000 members, who then received mailings and visits about the election. Ultimately, they voted as strongly for Kerry as union members themselves. But unions are also reaching out beyond their ranks in other innovative ways. AFSCME, for example, tried an appeal targeted at single working women, a joint political and union organizing effort to register 200,000 home childcare providers and outreach to Puerto Ricans in Florida and Hmong in Minneapolis.

While Republicans nurture sympathetic groups, like conservative evangelical churches, CWA (communications workers) political director Michael Grace argues, "Democrats do a terrible job" and fail to recognize how their fate is tied to that of organized labor. "Progressives and Democrats have to own the fact that the future of the movement for social justice depends on the vitality and health of the labor movement," says AFL organizing director Stewart Acuff. "That's not to say we're enough by ourselves, but there's no hope if we don't rebuild the labor movement." That's why there's a big political stake in fighting little-noticed GOP initiatives to make it harder for unions to organize, like a recent National Labor Relations Board decision that will make it even tougher to unionize the growing ranks of temporary workers.

Most labor leaders agree on the need to ratchet up organizing—but many disagree about how to make that happen. The debate about organizing strategy and internal restructuring that is currently roiling the labor movement was triggered immediately after the election, when SEIU president Andrew Stern presented proposals for consolidation of unions around well-defined industrial jurisdictions and massive new coordinated organizing efforts, including an initiative to take on Wal-Mart. Sweeney has supported some similar reforms, but it remains to be seen how the federation will respond to Stern's specific proposals, which have provoked both institutional resistance to change and legitimate disagreement about what reforms are needed and how they should be implemented.

Another lesson from labor's political mobilization is about what Democrats' political message should be. After the election, some strategists urged Democrats to be more religious and culturally conservative. But the unions' political work argues instead for focusing on social and economic morality. To the extent unions found success in this election, they found it by emphasizing the need for affordable healthcare, job creation and fairer trade agreements, retirement security, protection of overtime pay and other bread-and-butter issues, such as the successful initiatives to raise the minimum wage in Nevada and Florida.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The second most important issue for the Democratic electorate and for union members was the war in Iraq. Perhaps because it was tied to Kerry's muddled position, however, the labor movement did not vigorously oppose the war during the campaign. Some unions didn't mention Iraq; the AFL-CIO produced one leaflet criticizing spending $200 billion on Iraq while needs are unmet at home. At least labor did not actively support the war (in sharp contrast with the Vietnam War), and several big unions, including AFSCME, SEIU and CWA, advocated withdrawing US troops now. Yet in the end, even though union members were primed to make their presidential decision in terms of a troubled economy and a misguided war, only 51 percent who ranked the war as the first or second most important issue (40 percent of union voters) voted for Kerry.

The results of labor's strong economic message were dramatic, nevertheless, with union members supporting Kerry even when they were part of demographic groups that were generally stalwart Bush backers. While white men overall favored Bush by eighteen points, white male union members favored Kerry by twenty-one points. Gun owners in the general public favored Bush by twenty points; unionist gun owners favored Kerry by twelve points. Kerry lost seniors overall narrowly, but won by a margin of forty-one points among seniors in unions. Weekly churchgoers gave Bush a margin of twenty-one points, but if they were union members, regular churchgoers voted for Kerry by twelve points. Economic issues, argues UNITE HERE (textile workers, hotel and restaurant employees) political director Chris Chafe, "can bring out your values messages. Healthcare is a moral issue for us. Social Security and retirement with dignity are moral issues with us." It's a morality, wedded to self-interest, that resonates far beyond labor's ranks.

But there are hard lessons for the unions as well. Many union members are rightly cynical about how seriously top Democratic politicians are committed to the economic issues that unions emphasize, especially trade and corporate power. Unions must work with their progressive allies to push the Democrats in a more populist direction, even as they stake out their political independence. To do that, their political work must be ongoing, not intermittent spurts around election time. The education work must also be more thoughtful than a series of election-year leaflets, not only promoting deeper understanding of the core economic issues but also critically analyzing America's role in the world. There must be more effort to get members to reach out to each other in their workplaces and communities: The flood of union staff and members from blue to battleground states showed great solidarity, but it's ultimately no subsitute for home-grown networks. Most of all, there's an urgent need to make the right to organize freely at work the new civil rights movement—and to reform internally to make such organizing possible.

There's no magic solution for the Democrats, but writing off organized labor would be a colossal error. The shrunken labor movement is certainly not a sufficient foundation for victory now, given its weakness through large swaths of the country (not surprisingly, the "red" states). But there's a strong argument that the long-range prospects for progressive Democratic politics hinge on efforts to expand the labor movement—both through traditional organizing and through strengthening organizations like Working America. And this requires making the core message of the Democratic Party the promise of economic and social justice. ■

When *The Nation* is available in high school libraries, reports a survey conducted by School Library Media Quarterly, it is one of the top dozen magazines actually used by students. Unfortunately, in more than three libraries out of four—both public and high school libraries—*The Nation* is not available. The reasons? Everything from budget cuts to the "discretion" of the school board or librarian. The remedy? *The Nation*'s **ADOPT-A-LIBRARY** program. For just $29 (42% off our regular subscription rate) you can put a full year's issues of *The Nation* into an institution on our own "high priority" list—libraries where we feel *The Nation*'s presence could make the most profound difference—ranging from inner-city high schools to one of the three libraries in Crawford, Texas, home to George W. Bush's rustic ranch.

THIS HOLIDAY SEASON, JOIN *THE NATION*'S **ADOPT-A-LIBRARY** PROGRAM.

YES! I'd like to adopt _____ libraries on your "high priority" list of *Nation*-less libraries.

❑ My check for $____($29 for each 1-year, 47-issue subscription) is enclosed.

❑ Please bill me later.

My Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

❑ I prefer to make a gift of *The Nation* to the specific library whose name and address are listed on a separate page.

Unless you specify otherwise, a card will be sent to each of your chosen libraries to announce these generous gifts in your name.

Mail to: *The Nation*, Adopt-A-Library Program, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003

2XFN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WHEN SCHOLAR KEN MAXWELL WROTE A *FOREIGN AFFAIRS* BOOK REVIEW CRITICAL OF US POLICY IN CHILE, HE DID NOT EXPECT TO DRAW FIRE FROM ESTABLISHMENT BIG GUNS.

RYAN INZANA

Kissinger's Shadow Over the Council on Foreign Relations

SCOTT SHERMAN

Last year Kenneth Maxwell, a soft-spoken 63-year-old historian of Latin America, published a review of Peter Kornbluh's *The Pinochet File: A Declassified Dossier on Atrocity and Accountability* in the November/December 2003 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, the influential journal of the Council on Foreign Relations. As *The Nation* reported in June [see Sherman, "The Maxwell Affair," June 21], Maxwell's essay enraged two former statesmen with deep connections to the council—Henry Kissinger and his longtime associate William Rogers. Indeed, Maxwell was soon confiding to close friends, "I have clearly trodden on the tail of a very nasty snake here." On May 13 Maxwell resigned from the council, where for fifteen years he had served as the chief Latin Americanist, and from *Foreign Affairs*, where he was the Western Hemisphere book reviewer, a perch from which he had published more than 300 reviews. What triggered Maxwell's resignation was a smoldering exchange with Rogers in *Foreign Affairs*—an exchange, Maxwell insists, that was abruptly curtailed after Kissinger applied direct and indirect pressure on the editor of the journal, James Hoge. "The Council's current relationship with Mr. Kissinger," Maxwell wrote in his resignation letter to Hoge, "evidently comes at the cost of suppressing debate about his actions as a public figure. This I want no part of."

Now, after months of silence about that suppressed debate, Maxwell has emerged with a 13,000-word essay about the affair, "The Case of the Missing Letter in *Foreign Affairs*." His treatise, which is based on e-mail correspondence and a detailed personal diary he kept throughout the controversy, has been published as a heavily footnoted working paper by the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies at Harvard University, where Maxwell is currently a senior fellow and visiting professor of history (the paper can be viewed at the center's website at http://drclas.fas.harvard.edu). "The Case of the Missing Letter" is a riveting account of a row that has generated headlines throughout Latin America; it is also an unprecedented X-ray of power politics, cronyism and hubris inside the country's pre-eminent foreign policy think tank. That Maxwell's document should carry the imprimatur of the Rockefeller Center at Harvard is an exquisite coincidence, since David Rockefeller himself was chairman of the council's board from 1970 to 1985.

Maxwell's review of Kornbluh's book, "The Other 9/11: The United States and Chile, 1973," was not a fiery polemic but a measured assessment of US intervention in Chile in the early 1970s. Leslie Gelb, who was president of the council from 1993 to 2003, told Maxwell that he read it three times and felt that, politically, it was "straight down the middle." Halfway through the piece, Maxwell criticized the Nixon-era policy-makers—primarily Kissinger—who contributed to the toppling of Chilean president Salvador Allende. "What is truly remarkable," he wrote, "is the effort...to bring a Latin American democracy down, and the meager efforts since to build democracy back up."

Kissinger, who has been affiliated with the council off and on since 1955, and Rogers, who served three terms on its board of directors, reacted swiftly to an essay that might have otherwise generated little notice on its own. Rogers, who worked with Kissinger at the State Department and is currently vice chair of Kissinger Associates, dispatched a furious letter to *Foreign Affairs*, which appeared in the January/February 2004 issue. "The myth that the United States toppled President Salvador Allende of Chile in 1973 lives," Rogers wrote. "There is...no smoking gun. Yet the

Scott Sherman is a Nation *contributing writer.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GIFT SUBSCRIPTIONS TO THE NATION JUST $39.97

(Puppy not included)

Paul Newman is a long-standing Nation reader and shareholder. Rooney is a short-standing miniature schnauzer.

Give friends a magazine they can sink their teeth into!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

myth persists." Rogers also endeavored to minimize Kissinger's involvement in two highly controversial matters that figure prominently in Kornbluh's book: the murder of Chilean Gen. René Schneider in 1970 and Operation Condor, a state-sponsored terror network set up by General Pinochet that from 1975 to 1977 targeted critics all over the Western Hemisphere and Europe. Among Condor's victims was Orlando Letelier, Pinochet's most prominent opponent in the United States, who was murdered, along with Ronni Moffitt, by a car bomb in Washington, DC, in 1976.

Round one of the exchange ended with a rejoinder by Maxwell in the same issue, in which he expressed incredulity at Rogers's assertions and proceeded to interrogate a very delicate matter: Kissinger's response to Operation Condor in general and the murder of Letelier in particular—a tragedy, Maxwell wrote, that might have been prevented had Kissinger maintained a less protective attitude toward General Pinochet. Closing his reply, Maxwell upped the ante and suggested "a way to clear the air" on Chile: "Some countries have established 'truth commissions' to look into such matters. In the United States, however, the record has been extracted painfully, like rotten teeth." Rogers immediately fired off a second letter, which would appear in the March/April issue, in which he accused Maxwell of "bias," denied that Kissinger bore any responsibility for Condor and ominously declared: "One would hope...that Maxwell's views are understood to be his own and not those of the Council on Foreign Relations, where he is a senior fellow." Curiously, back in December Hoge promised Rogers—and not his own book reviewer—the last word in the exchange. (Maxwell writes that in his eleven years at *Foreign Affairs*, not a single angry author was ever accorded the last word that was given to Rogers.)

The Council on Foreign Relations has long maintained that a 'church-state separation' divides it from Foreign Affairs.

On February 4 Maxwell delivered to James Hoge a seven-paragraph reply to Rogers's second letter—a reply that effectively rebutted Rogers's accusations and called on Kissinger himself to step forward and "clarify the record" about events in Chile. That document—"the missing letter" of Maxwell's title—never appeared in *Foreign Affairs*. In a June interview with *The Nation*, Maxwell insisted that Kissinger and Rogers pressured Hoge to shut down the exchange, but he declined to elaborate on the specific ways in which that pressure was applied: "They know how to act in these matters, and they bring heavy guns to bear."

Maxwell has now identified those "heavy guns": Peter "Pete" Peterson, chair of the council's board of directors, and Maurice "Hank" Greenberg, honorary vice chair of the council and chair and chief executive officer of the embattled American International Group (AIG), the world's largest commercial insurer, which recently agreed to pay $126 million in penalties to the US government to settle a fraud case. Peterson and Greenberg are, in Maxwell's view, a formidable pair: "Neither is a man to be crossed lightly."

"The Case of the Missing Letter" creates new difficulties for James Hoge, who in June vehemently denied that he had received direct (or indirect) pressure from Kissinger. "Mr. Hoge...denied that Mr. Kissinger had pressured him. He demanded that Mr. Maxwell produce proof of his accusation," Diana Jean Schemo wrote in the *New York Times* on June 16. Earlier, on June 1, Hoge had told *The Nation*, "I never talked to Henry Kissinger about this at all, nor has anybody else told me that Henry had a view one way or the other." A few days later Hoge told David Glenn of *The Chronicle of Higher Education*: "I didn't talk to Henry Kissinger, I didn't talk to anybody...these are editor's decisions, which I made. Period." However, Peterson, contradicting the editor, admitted to Glenn that he did indeed phone Hoge in December to convey Kissinger's unhappiness, but he denied that he trespassed on editorial decision-making at *Foreign Affairs*: "I have great respect for Hoge and for the independence of that magazine."

In late January Maxwell, seeking to insure that he would have the opportunity to rebut Rogers's second missive, left a number of messages for Hoge, who was traveling. Hoge got back to him on January 26. Writes Maxwell: "He did not want to discuss the Kissinger-Rogers matter on the phone, he said, and insisted on a personal meeting." That discussion took place on Friday, January 30, in Hoge's book-lined office overlooking East 68th Street. "We were alone and I was conscious of the fact he wanted it this way." Maxwell offers this description of the meeting:

> Hoge explained he had been subjected to great pressure from Henry Kissinger. He said that "Henry will not speak to me or shake my hand." He...told me Peterson had called on Kissinger's behalf. He said he was called and "sworn at for half an hour" by [Maurice] Greenberg.... He said of Kissinger: "Henry has a very dark side," and that Kissinger had sought to interfere before in *Foreign Affairs* during the editorship of his predecessor William ("Bill") Hyland. He said that he did not think that the breach that resulted between Kissinger and Hyland, who were old friends, had "ever been fully repaired." Very much on his mind, it seemed to me, was how far he could go in criticizing Kissinger without having a similar breach.

By the time Maxwell resigned on May 13, "Kissinger was... speaking to Hoge again."

The leadership of the Council on Foreign Relations has long maintained that a "church-state separation" divides the council from *Foreign Affairs*, but Maxwell's account turns that assertion on its head. By choosing to exert his influence through two close friends and business associates—Peter Peterson and Maurice Greenberg—Kissinger, Maxwell writes, "had chosen his messengers well." Both Peterson, as chair, and Greenberg, as honorary vice chair, possess gargantuan influence at the council and maintain an active interest in its affairs. On December 18, at the council's holiday staff party, Maxwell learned from Hoge and Peterson that Greenberg, who was not present, was indignant about his review of *The Pinochet File*. As Maxwell confided to his diary the following morning: "[Greenberg, according to Hoge] claimed KM [Maxwell] accused HK [Kissinger] of 'killing babies'—Jim told him [Greenberg] to read piece!" Maxwell was shaken by the holiday party, for it revealed to him for the first time the full dimensions of the "firestorm Kissinger had initiated."

Maxwell has brought the full range of his scholarly abilities to bear on "The Case of the Missing Letter," and the footnotes pain-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Relaxation therapy for your feet

Visco-elastic foam has changed the way people sleep, now it helps the way you walk.

by Leigh Ligon

My feet hurt! How many times have you heard *or* said that…standing in line at the grocery store or simply while doing daily routine tasks? I feel like the older I get the more my feet ache. I've tried elevating my feet, soaking them in hot water and expensive massage therapy—but to no avail. That's why I'm so excited to tell you about my recent discovery—CLOUD 10 Slippers!

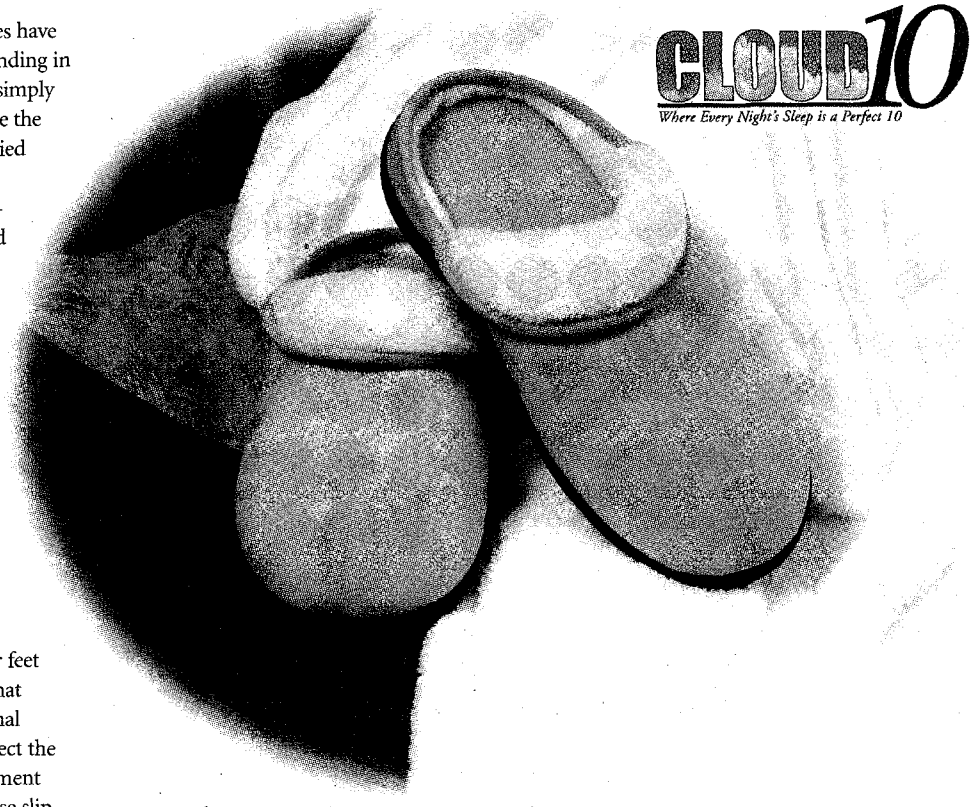
How did a NASA invention save my feet? From the moment I slipped them on, they molded to the shape of my feet like I had a custom fit pair of slippers made especially for me! The slipper's insole is made from visco-elastic memory foam originally created by NASA. This foam equalizes pressure, reduces stress and tension and provides incredible comfort.

According to the American Podiatric Medical Association, as people age, their feet tend to spread, and lose the fatty pads that cushion the bottom of the feet. Additional weight can affect the bone and ligament structure. These slippers mold to the contours of my feet through my body's heat and weight, literally cushioning every single step I take.

Technologically advanced slippers mold to the contours of your feet making each step feel like you're walking on Cloud 10!

Did you know that the average person takes 8,000 to 10,000 steps a day, which adds up to about 115,000 miles over a lifetime? That's enough to go around the circumference of the earth four times. No wonder we all have tired, aching feet.

I've heard about similar kinds of slippers, but I couldn't afford to spend nearly $70 a pair. The Cloud 10 Slippers were a much better fit for my budget. The outer material of these stylish slippers is beautiful tan faux suede and they feature a cozy, fleece-lined interior and collar to provide added warmth. The durable rubber sole is perfect for my quick trips outdoors to grab the morning paper.



❖ *Inner sole is constructed from visco-elastic memory foam*
❖ *Body heat molds foam to cushion feet for maximum support*
❖ *Super-soft, fleece lining provides added warmth*
❖ *Durable rubber sole—perfect for quick outdoor trips!*

If you have arthritic feet like I do, you suffer from inflammation and pain in your joints. Our feet have to last a lifetime and I've decided to stop neglecting the part of my body that keeps me mobile.

These slippers have a unisex design making them great for both men and women. I wear my Cloud 10 Slippers every chance I get and my feet have never felt so pampered.

Sink your feet into luxury. We are so confident that CLOUD 10 slippers will cushion your feet in complete comfort that we will offer you a no-questions asked in-home trial for 30 days. If you're not 100% completely satisfied just return them for a full refund of the purchase price.

Call now to take advantage of this limited offer.

Cloud 10 Slippers
Unisex design —Small, Medium or Large
***Small** (Women's 5-7)*
***Medium** (Women's 8-10 and Men's 7-9)*
***Large** (Men's 10-12)*

$39.95 + S&H
Buy a second pair and S&H is free!

Please specify small, medium or large when ordering.

800-859-1738

Promotional Code SLP178-01

Please mention this when you call.
To order by mail, please call for details.

NEXTTEN
products for your next ten years.
14101 Southcross Drive W., Dept. SLP178-01
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337

For fastest service, call toll-free 24 hours a day **800-859-1738**

Visit us online at www.NextTen.com for our complete line of Cloud 10 products

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stakingly delineate an interlocking web of connections between Kissinger, Peterson and Greenberg. The Kissinger-Peterson relationship began in the Nixon Administration, when Peterson was international economic adviser and later Secretary of Commerce, and carried over into civilian life: The Peterson-led Blackstone Group, according to its website, maintains a "strategic alliance" with Kissinger Associates to provide "financial advisory services to corporations seeking high-level strategic advice." Kissinger, likewise, is no stranger at Greenberg's AIG: In 1987 Greenberg appointed Kissinger chairman of AIG's international advisory group, where, according to Walter Isaacson's *Kissinger: A Biography*, he assisted the insurance giant with lucrative business deals in Argentina, Peru, Malaysia and South Korea.

In turn, Peterson and Greenberg were excellently positioned to assist Kissinger at the Council on Foreign Relations. Both men have been exceedingly generous to the institution—contributing, Maxwell notes, "more than $34 million between them directly in personal donations and indirectly, via the privately-held Blackstone Group in the case of Peterson, and, in the case of Greenberg, via the Starr Foundation, of which he is chairman." Signs of Greenberg's largesse are evident at the council's 68th Street headquarters: there is a Greenberg Reception Room, a Greenberg Chair and a Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies.

Greenberg and Peterson also have influence at *Foreign Affairs* magazine. Maxwell notes that both men have contributed to the endowment of the chair that Hoge holds as editor, which is named for...Peter Peterson.

On May 13 Maxwell submitted his letter of resignation to Hoge and to Richard Haass, the president of the council. The next day Hoge replied by e-mail and made this astonishing claim: "Your May 13 letter contains speculation about supposed pressures from Mr. Kissinger. As I have previously told you, Mr. Rogers is the only person involved with whom I have discussed this matter." Repeated efforts by *The Nation* to reach Hoge were unsuccessful: He did not return phone calls. Likewise, Kissinger, Peterson, Greenberg and Haass all declined to discuss Maxwell's allegations. Only William Rogers made himself available. Asked if Kissinger applied direct pressure on Hoge—or indirect pressure through Peterson and Greenberg—Rogers replied: "Not that I know of. I'm sure not. He would never be so tactless. I believe that he told me that he washed his hands of the whole thing."

Maxwell believes that an "official line" on the affair was soon hammered out by Hoge and Haass. At an all-staff meeting on June 15, in front of 200 people, Haass declared that the press accounts about Maxwell's departure were false; that Hoge, an "extraordinary editor," had made an "editorial judgment" to stop the exchange; and that a "church-state separation" existed between the council and *Foreign Affairs*. Less than an hour before the meeting, Maxwell was confidentially warned that Haass planned to address the controversy. Speaking in his own defense at the meeting, Maxwell, who left the council on July 1, told the staff, "I have had fifteen very happy years at the council. It seems obvious that I would not have resigned at this stage of my career unless I had very good reasons for doing so."

The departure of Maxwell, *The Nation* wrote in June, "raises questions about intellectual freedom at the council; about editorial independence at *Foreign Affairs*...and about Kissinger's and Rogers's influence" on the institution. Haass, who became president in 2003, has thus far neglected his responsibility to address these matters publicly. But privately he seems to possess a keen understanding of the emotionally charged issues that continue to swirl around Kissinger's Chile policy in the early 1970s. The morning after the holiday party, December 19, 2003, Maxwell ran into Haass at 8 AM, when both men were arriving for work. As Maxwell soon confided to his diary: "Haass said: 'this is [an] issue that still gets under everyone's skin 30 years later!'" ■

LETTERS
CONTINUED

(Continued From Page 2)

character at Los Alamos, there are surely many causes. Among them, I claim, is his sense of lack of scientific accomplishment. Since Goodchild does not spell out why Teller "had much to be pleased about," I do not know what he is talking about. Incidentally, I heard from someone who had been at Los Alamos as a very junior physicist. Senior people like Teller and Fermi were assigned to give them physics lectures. Teller's, he reported, were abominable.

On the matter of Teller's intellectual honesty, that turns to a large degree on whether the falsehoods he promulgated were knowingly false or whether they were unintentionally false. I think they were both, and in the end it hardly matters since the damage they did—such as involving us in Star Wars—was the same in either case. If this is the "stuff of politics," then Teller should be treated with the same contempt as any dishonest politician.

JEREMY BERNSTEIN

OUR COVER—PRECIOUSSSS

Plano, Tex.

■ I thought your postelection cover showing dark clouds simply conveyed the gloomy feelings of your editors [Nov. 22]. My wife, however, pointed out its true meaning. I should have detected what you had subtly left out—the colossal eye surrounded by flames over a black craggy mountain... Mordor.

JOHN R. STEWART

TWENTY-FIRST (-CENTURY) PSALM

Brooklyn, NY

■ A fool is my shepherd. I shall not think. He maketh me to bog down in a quagmire. He leadeth me beside dirty waters. He destroyeth my ozone. He leadeth me down paths to the extreme right, for his lobbyists' sake.

Yea, though I walk through relatively safe streets, I do fear evil (the threat level is orange), for thou hast scared me. My assault rifle comforteth me. Thou anointest my car with oil. My deficit runneth over. Thou preparest my table with fast food in the presence of my television.

Surely paranoia and resentment will follow me all the days of my life. And I will dwell in this Empire of Fools till I die, uninsured.

LAWRENCE SWAN

ARE WE THEN BIRDBRAINS?

Spokane, Wash.

■ We feel slandered and maligned, but why? Alexander Cockburn's and Katha Pollitt's back-to-back December 6 columns have smeared our good e-mail address ("two wingnuts") and vanity plate (WNGNUTS). Because we are avid bird watchers, we have called ourselves wing nuts for years. We had no idea we were part of some "next generation" conspiracy (Cockburn) or of the evil emanating from the Sunflower State (Pollitt). Should we be proud or ashamed? Should we change our e-mail address and vanity plate? Please enlighten us.

HANS AND KATIE KRAUSS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS

Subcontinental Homesick Blues

SIDDARTHA DEB

BONFIRE OF CREEDS: The Essential Ashis Nandy.
By Ashis Nandy. Oxford. 506 pp. $35.

THE SAVAGE FREUD.
By Ashis Nandy. Oxford. 275 pp. $24.95.

THE POLITICS OF THE GOVERNED: Reflections on Popular Politics in Most of the World.
By Partha Chatterjee. Columbia. 173 pp. $29.50.

Nearly twenty years ago, in a village in the western Indian state of Rajasthan, a young woman called Roop Kanwar was burned to death at her husband's funeral pyre. Kanwar, according to her in-laws and neighbors, had committed a voluntary act of "sati," demonstrating her loyalty as a Hindu wife by following her husband beyond death. Sati has been illegal since colonial times, when Hindu reformers took the lead in convincing the British to ban the practice. Nevertheless, a shrine to Kanwar was set up in the village, and money began pouring in from people making pilgrimages.

In the near unanimous condemnation that followed from urban India, there was, however, one dissenting voice, charging critics of the sati incident with self-righteousness and ignorance. The voice belonged to Ashis Nandy, an intellectual notorious for his unconventional and often abrasive approach to prevailing opinion in India. In a series of provocative essays and articles since the 1970s, he has assailed every category of thought influencing his contemporaries—modernity, development, science, nationalism, history. Nandy is particularly scathing when it comes to secularism, and those who saw Kanwar's death as a symptom of religious fervor seemed to confirm his understanding of secularism as a form of deracinated hubris that missed everything significant about India's traditions.

Siddhartha Deb, a novelist, is the author of The Point of Return *(Ecco). His new novel,* An Outline of the Republic, *will be published by Ecco next spring.*

Although the intervention earned Nandy a reputation as a covert right-wing Hindu ideologue, he is in fact a Christian, and his writings demonstrate unequivocally that he did not support Kanwar's immolation. Having studied sati as a historical phenomenon, he was challenging the interpretation imposed upon it by the urban elites. His essay "Sati: A Nineteenth-Century Tale of Women, Violence and Protest"—included in *Bonfire of Creeds*, a recent collection of essays brought out by Oxford—makes the case that sati was an intermittent phenomenon, surfacing in discrete and fairly traumatic historical periods as in colonial Bengal, and related to a range of disruptions from food shortages to changes in property ownership. There was no single, homogeneous religious impulse behind sati, Nandy argued, and those who saw traditional village attitudes behind Kanwar's death had a limited understanding of both tradition and modernity.

Since the 1970s, Ashis Nandy has assailed secularism—the foundation of Indian democracy—as a form of deracinated hubris.

At the time, Nandy's tirade against secularism found few followers among India's intelligentsia. That secularism's provenance was urban and elite was indisputable, but this was what made secularism the very basis of modern Indian identity. If modernity was desirable, so was secularism. Enshrined in the preamble to the Constitution and embodied by India's first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, secularism was central to India's idea of itself as a democracy, providing a vital point of difference from its theocratic neighbor Pakistan. Moreover, what gave Indian secularism its moral gravitas was not the Enlightenment idea of church-state separation but its role as guarantor of the equality of all Indian religions. Like multiculturalism in the United States, secularism in India was often more image than reality, but it insured a steady dissemination of the idea of national harmony.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

By all accounts, Nandy has won his great battle against secularism. In the years since Kanwar's death, secularism has been displaced from its habitat in urban households by an aggressive belief in a rigidly defined Hindu identity. With the simultaneous emergence of Hindu fundamentalism and economic neoliberalism, it has become possible for the Indian upper classes to uncouple secularism from the train of modernity, making it feasible for them to be admirers of both sati and the stock market. Since mass murder of Muslims, starvation deaths in Orissa, farmer suicides in Andhra Pradesh and large-scale impoverishment arouse barely any reactions in urban India, it seems apparent that Kanwar could safely be burned for the Hindu cause today without so much as a newspaper headline to record a protest.

One expects Nandy to have registered this change, particularly the fact that secularism has given way not to traditions of pluralism but to an outright program of hatred against minorities, ranging from episodes of organized violence to a steady stream of public denunciation. But although it is possible to find the occasional grudging (and somewhat belated) acknowledgment by Nandy that secularism once served "as an important public value and as an indicator of one's commitment to the protection of minorities," his recent writings give the impression of continuing the old battle, tilting at windmills long after the giants have departed.

An essay written after the rise of right-wing Hindu nationalism and revised after the anti-Muslim pogrom in Gujarat in March 2002 argues, for instance, that extremist Hindu parties like the Bharatiya Janata Party and the Shiv Sena (forming a national government until their defeat in the elections this past May) are "two of the most secular parties in India." On the surface, this is a puzzling claim. The BJP and the Shiv Sena may make occasional noises about being genuine secularists (much as American right-wingers claim to believe in racial equality when denouncing affirmative action), but their energies are largely directed at demonizing Muslims and promoting an exclusive notion of Hinduism. In calling right-wing parties secular, Nandy does not mean they are impartial about religion but rather that their use of religious symbols is subservient to the goal of state power.

"Even religious riots or pogroms are secularized in South Asia," he writes. "They are organized the way a rally or strike is organized in a competitive, democratic polity." Both religious and secular parties share the common objective of seizing and controlling the power of the state, and they are therefore equally steeped in the values of modernity, where the state is perceived as the ultimate arbiter of human existence. In Nandy's view, there is no religious group that can escape secularism's embrace; from this perspective, all fundamentalist groups, from Al Qaeda to the Christian devotees of rapture, are utterly secular entities in spite of themselves.

In Nandy's view, no religious group can escape secularism's embrace, and even Al Qaeda is an utterly secular entity.

The oppressive nature of modernity is, in fact, the central theme running through all of Nandy's work. Whether the specific critique is of secularism, the nation-state or Western science, taken together they add up to an impressive indictment of modernity—that narrative of progress brought to the subcontinent by colonialism and kept alive since then by an Indian elite and their mentors in the West. Over the years, this view—that many of India's problems are caused by an imported modernity rather than by its seemingly static traditions—has gained ground among many postcolonial scholars, especially the group of Indian historians known as the Subaltern Studies collective. But Nandy has pursued his line of reasoning against modernity in an independent, even idiosyncratic manner, deriving his framework not from the theoretical underpinnings of Gramsci, Foucault and Derrida but by rummaging through history and contemporary events, using a mélange of psychology, sociology and cultural analysis to examine a series of liminal figures embodying the struggle between traditional Indian culture and Western modernity.

The most engaging of such figures are to be found in a group of essays collected under the rubric *The Savage Freud*, the very title indicating Nandy's interest in the paradoxical relationship between the deep structures of Indian culture and the ideas introduced by the West. Among the most compelling accounts here is that of Radhabinod Pal, one of the two judges from colonized Asia to serve on the tribunal responsible for trying World War II Japanese leaders as war criminals. Pal delivered the sole dissenting judgment, an act that was apparently greeted with derision in the West and acclaimed in Japan and India. For Nandy, the cultural divide in the response to Pal's judgment is also emblematic of the difference between a non-Western ethics and Western jurisprudence, and he uses the colonial background of India, the power struggles of international politics and the psychology of Pal's upbringing to illuminate the nature of the judgment. Clearly admiring Pal for standing firm against the Allied view that war crimes had been committed only by the defeated, Nandy argues that "the emotional and moral background of Pal's judgment at Tokyo was provided not by the culture of modern international law, but by his long exposure to the traditional laws of India."

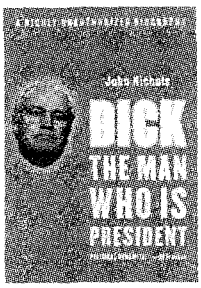
The reservoir of ethics to be found in India's traditions is a recurring theme in *The Savage Freud*. In Nandy's view, these traditions have prevailed in the face not only of colonialism but of the postcolonial transformation of the Indian state, which now embodies modernity no less than the West. "The Discreet Charms of Indian Terrorism" examines two hijackings, both carried out in 1984 by Sikh separatists on Indian Airlines flights. Nandy is particularly good at dissecting the media hysteria that immediately slotted the incident into a globally available framework of terrorism and violence. Using accounts provided by passengers of their interaction with the hijackers (one of whom even sang to the hostages), Nandy argues that "despite some low-level violence, the social world of the pirated IC 405 and IC 421 did not become a free-for-all or an amoral Hobbesian jungle."

An amoral Hobbesian jungle is, of course, a virtual synonym for modernity in Nandy's *oeuvre*. What is harder to pin down is the tradition opposed to this modernity, the tradition that provides an ethical framework for both judge and hijacker and yet is excluded by the modern Indian state. If there is a focal point for this Indian tradition in Nandy's writings, it is provided by Gandhi and the body of ideas and practices associated with him. As opposed to the modernizing Nehru (dismissed by Nandy as much for his naïve ideas of technological progress as for his belief in secularism), Gandhi appears in Nandy's work as a leader uniquely in touch with Indian beliefs and traditions.

Gandhi can indeed be considered a prescient critic of modernity. His rhetoric frequently invoked religion, ecology and rural India, and his anti-industrialism and hostility to the modern state inform much of Nandy's work. But what makes Gandhi especially important to Nandy is his representation of an alternative narrative for postcolonial India, one where politics would

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

KNOW THE ISSUES



Dick

The Man Who Is President

John Nichols

Drawing on groundbreaking reporting, this scathing and irreverent book asks the question: Do Americans really want Dick Cheney to continue running their country?

"A farce noir, lethally funny. A revelatory work." –Studs Terkel

"Readers will appreciate the light Nichols has shed on Cheney." –*Library Journal*

Hardcover, $23.95, 256 pages

With God on Their Side

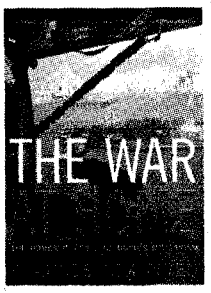
How Christian Fundamentalists Trampled Science, Policy, and Democracy in George W. Bush's White House

Esther Kaplan

A close look at the growing influence of the Christian right on policy decisions in the Bush administration.

"The invaluable Esther Kaplan assembles a truly shocking dossier of recent religious fundamentalist incursions into the machinery and soul of American democracy." –Tony Kushner

Hardcover, $24.95, 336 pages



The War at Home

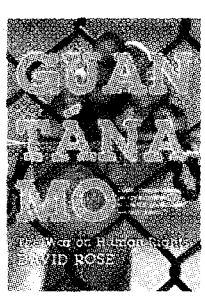
The Domestic Costs of Bush's Militarism

Frances Fox Piven

The eminent political thinker analyzes the impact of the Iraq war on domestic policy, turning an unsentimental eye on the motivations of American militarism.

"Frances Fox Piven has hit the nail on the head as usual." –Jeff Madrick, author of *Why Economics Grow*

Hardcover, $19.95, 176 pages



Guantánamo

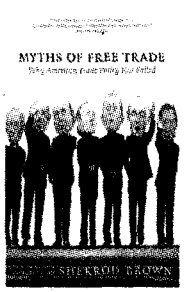
The War on Human Rights

David Rose

A powerful and timely exposé of conditions inside America's controversial prison camp, from an award-winning writer and *Vanity Fair* contributing editor.

"Lucid, comprehensive . . . an icy indictment of the U.S. government." –Harold Pinter

Hardcover, $21.95, 176 pages



Myths of Free Trade

Why American Trade Policy Has Failed

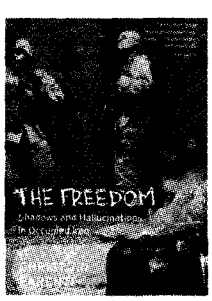
Sherrod Brown

From the ranking democrat on the House's Commerce Committee, a myth-busting guide to free-trade ideology.

"Sherrod Brown has made an invaluable contribution toward furthering the debate on trade." –Rep. Nancy Pelosi

"In this timely and important book, Sherrod Brown reveals the power, corruption, and lies behind U.S. trade policy." –Eric Schlosser

Hardcover, $24.95, 240 pages



The Freedom

Shadows and Hallucinations in Occupied Iraq

Christian Parenti

In the tradition of Kapuściński and Didion, an apocalyptic, firsthand account of the war in Iraq.

"Christian Parenti's war reporting is so fresh and flavorful–so somberly real–it makes you wonder why it is so rare." –William Greider

Hardcover, $21.95, 224 pages

THE NEW PRESS

www.thenewpress.com Available at all fine bookstores, or call 800-233-4830

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be approached in an ethical rather than in an instrumental manner. This alternative narrative was not the one embraced by the Indian elites flush with the victory of independence from British rule; that would have involved dissolving the Congress party, which had led the anticolonial struggle, and it would also have meant rejecting the vivisection of the Indian subcontinent by accommodating leaders of the Muslim League (who were suspicious of the Congress Hindus, and quite rightfully so). Given the choice of two founding myths, Nehru and the Congress preferred the one most compromised by modernity and colonialism. What has followed in India since then, Nandy laments, is a logical consequence of that first mistake.

There are fundamental contradictions between East and West, tradition and modernity, past and present, Nandy writes. He admires Gandhi for seeing clearly into these contradictions and for stating that they could be resolved "primarily within the little traditions of India and the West...but almost entirely outside modernity." But here, too, opposed to the sharp contours of the modernity that emerged victorious in the postcolonial state, one finds only a mystifying invocation of the "little traditions" that does nothing to indicate what those "little traditions" might be and how they might be used to fashion an alternative social order.

This is a crucial lapse, because one of the ways in which Nandy's work contradicts his own precepts is that he seems largely interested in male, upper-middle-class figures who struggle with their competing allegiances to Western ideas and Indian traditions. In fact, even though Nandy has made some interesting forays into mass culture phenomena such as cricket and popular cinema, the mode in which he operates best is one of high culture, with his indigenous sources mostly confined to classical Sanskrit texts. This does not necessarily make him a Hindu apologist, as some of his critics have alleged, but it gives the reader scant evidence of the "little traditions" to be used against modernity.

It often seems as if Nandy, while arguing against the dominant view of India as an authoritarian, modern nation-state, has implicitly accepted the founding precept of this state: that the Indian subcontinent consists entirely of Hindus and Muslims. He may not agree with the accompanying corollary that Hindus and Muslims have unitary, exclusively religious identities, but these religious identities are nevertheless what he concentrates on, resulting in a noticeable silence about groups like the Dalits, indigenous tribal peoples, geographically peripheral populations in the northeast of India and the urban poor. The absence of these groups in Nandy's work constitutes a remarkable evasion, and one that seems directly related to his reluctance to engage with issues of mass politics.

Such distaste for mass politics limits Nandy's usefulness as a social critic and dilutes even his presentation of Gandhi as the most articulate Indian critic of modernity. Shahid Amin, a Subaltern Studies historian, has demonstrated superbly in his *Event, Metaphor, Memory: Chauri Chaura 1922–1992* that Gandhi could often be in active opposition to the little traditions of village India, as when he called off his agitation against the British to protest the killing of twenty-three policemen by the villagers of Chauri Chaura. The existence of such conflicts between Gandhi and the villages also leads us to what may be the most crucial aspect in Gandhi—his ability to engineer a coherent program of mass politics. In Nandy's account, Gandhi appears as a victim and a critic of modernity, but not as an agitator and organizer, perhaps because that takes him too close to the "secular" strikes and rallies Nandy abhors.

Nandy argues that India's cultural contradictions are best resolved by 'little traditions' that lie 'almost entirely outside modernity.'

Yet this may be the Gandhi most worth engaging with, given the uneven balance of power between populations, on the one hand, and governments and corporations, on the other. This is where a scholar like Partha Chatterjee, another member of the Subaltern Studies collective, displays a clearer understanding of the intricate relations between Gandhi and mass politics, as well as the continuing relevance of such politics in the Third World. Chatterjee's new book *The Politics of the Governed* speaks of how "Gandhi's words and actions are shot through by the parallel themes of unleashing popular initiative and controlling it at the same time," but his interest in Gandhi does not preclude the criticism that Gandhian politics ceased to be effective after decolonization because it failed to present itself as "an alternative form of the modern state."

For Chatterjee, this failure did not mean that non-elite Indians were content to remain passive objects of modernity. Much of his book, in fact, is concerned with the formation of what he calls "political society," through which marginalized groups like squatters and displaced peasants have negotiated with the modern Indian state. Given this interest in mass politics, it is not surprising that Chatterjee's book engages precisely with those possibilities not considered by Nandy, such as attempts by B.R. Ambedkar to organize an equitable space for the Dalits in a modern Indian state, or the experiments of the left in West Bengal to fashion progressive land reforms.

The political society discussed by Chatterjee is often limited to West Bengal, which—with a democratically elected leftist government in power for twenty-seven years—may be quite anomalous in the Indian context. Nevertheless, his book offers some hope in the attempts made by disenfranchised people to formulate an effective politics that refashions aspects of modernity and the state to their own needs. Chatterjee does not cover up the harsh inequities of the Indian state, now being speeded along by a rampant neoliberalism, but he gives us some idea of where, and in what form, these inequities may be challenged.

Nandy's work, unfortunately, holds out little such hope. Even his more prescriptive essays, such as "Towards a Third World Utopia," veer away rapidly from utopian possibilities into somewhat labored discussions of the dystopian "processes which give structured oppression its resilience." Interesting insights notwithstanding, one hears an old, familiar ax being ground when Nandy starts pondering—via Adorno—over vulgar materialism as "an ally of the global structure of oppression." And when he does speak of resisting this global structure in ways uncontaminated by modernity, the effect is curious:

> The only way out, at this moment, seems to be that of the shaman. The shaman not as the heroic symbol of all non-co-optable dissent but the shaman as a more modest symbol of resistance to the dominant politics of knowledge, the shaman as one whose style of negation and whose categories do not make any sense centre-stage but always seem to touch the disempowered in the wings.

It is perhaps not unreasonable to suggest that there is more than a touch of self-description in this image. For much of his career, Nandy has performed his role as intellectual dissenter admirably, demolishing platitudes about progress and modernity, forcing even vulgar materialists to reconsider some of their beliefs. It is equally

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

clear that for quite some time now, the shaman has danced his way entirely offstage, so preoccupied with throwing off the oppressive shackles of modernity that he has abandoned everybody who might constitute a resistance to that modernity: audience, fellow shamans and, especially, the disempowered waiting in the wings. ■

Is That All There Is?

MICHAEL WOOD

MAGIC SEEDS. By V.S. Naipaul. Knopf. 280 pp. $25.

It's hard to resist the misery of V.S. Naipaul's late fiction, hard not to surrender to its bleak and wary authority. What arguments do we have against it, what stupid, sunny alternatives could we bring ourselves to propose? Still, there are reasons for trying to resist. First, the misery is often dogmatic, composed of worldly observations that thrive only on failure. And second, in spite of Naipaul's serious devotion to his own gloom, the misery is not all there is.

"To see the possibility, the certainty, of ruin, even at the moment of creation," Naipaul writes in *The Enigma of Arrival* (1987): "it was my temperament." This is multiple jeopardy, even at the level of the sentence. The possibility turns into a certainty as soon as it is mentioned. Sometimes it seems as if even ruin can't be achieved or acknowledged. "The world should stop," the central character thinks in *Half a Life* (2001), "but it goes on." The same character says the materials in a naval museum in Africa are "like forgotten family junk, which no one wanted to throw away but which no one could identify and truly understand and honour." But then this last suggestion has an ironic twist, desolate but not entirely despairing, since the notions of understanding and honor remain, even if they concern only junk and even if, as it happens, no one in this novel is quite up to them. "It is wrong to have an ideal view of the world" are almost the last words of Naipaul's new novel, *Magic Seeds*. The figures in his later work don't run much risk of this, since the apparent idealists are either psychopaths or people on the run from their life or both. But, taken together, the recent novels tell a slightly different story. They suggest that it would be good to die with something other than hate and rage in one's heart. With some slight sense of understanding and honor intact, perhaps. This is a pretty low-grade hope, and perhaps the thing can't be done at all. But given where Naipaul's characters are starting from, the very intimation has a faint touch of idealism about it.

Half a Life and *Magic Seeds* really form two sections of a single novel, centered on Willie Somerset Chandran, who in the first part studies in England in the 1950s, at the time of the Suez crisis and then of the Notting Hill race riots in West London. He publishes a book of short stories, marries a Portuguese woman and lives for eighteen years in an unnamed colony that resembles Mozambique in every respect. At the end of that book he abandons Ana and Africa and joins his sister in Berlin. In *Magic Seeds* Willie leaves Germany to join a guerrilla group in India, engages in desultory but violent clandestine activities for seven years and then, losing the revolutionary faith he scarcely ever had, hands himself over to the police. After some time he is whisked away to London, where his old book has earned him a small but real reputation as "a pioneer of Indian postcolonial writing." If sneers were audible we would hear Naipaul's all the way from Wiltshire, wherever we were. Back in London, Willie meets up again with his English friend Roger, a successful but troubled lawyer, sleeps with his wife, thinks of becoming an architect. Just as *Half a Life* opens with a version of the story of Willie's father's life, as told to Willie over several years, so *Magic Seeds* all but ends with a version of the story of Roger's extramarital affair with a working-class woman, an English echo of Willie's father's relationship with an untouchable.

"All these years I thought the condescension was mine," Roger says, thinking of the class hierarchy of their relationship. "That was the story Roger told, in bits, not in sequence, and over many weeks." The novel actually ends with the title chapter, picking up a sardonic story from *Half a Life* about a young black man named Marcus. He is "the son of a West Indian who went to live in West Africa as part of the Back to Africa movement." A charming fellow, "dedicated to inter-racial sex" and devoted to a single idea: "to have a grandchild who will be pure white in appearance." At the end of *Magic Seeds* Willie and Roger attend the wedding of Marcus's half-English son—he already has two children, one of them "as white as white can be." The two children are pages, and one of them farts during the wedding, just after the excerpt from *Othello* and during the reading from a Shakespeare sonnet. "The guests lined up correctly on this matter," Naipaul witheringly writes. "The dark people thought the dark child had farted; the fair people thought it was the fair child." The sarcasm is easy, and the whole story is reductive and not very funny, but the word "correctly" gets at one of Naipaul's main worries. Is intraracial embarrassment such an improvement on interracial suspicion? Naipaul knows the answer is yes, but he also knows how tangled the history is.

The title of *Half a Life* makes a half-rhyme with the start of an old proverb, once much heard by children who thought they didn't have enough of whatever it was they had: Half a loaf is better than no bread. There is a parallel proposition, very popular among the older folks in my family when I was small: It's worse where there is none. Naipaul's last two novels, as I read them, are dedicated to testing this type of truism. "Perhaps both brothers are better off dead," we read in the new novel. "This generation is lost, and perhaps the next as well. Perhaps both brothers have been spared an untold amount of useless striving and needless pain." This bit of thinking is Willie's deluded attempt to justify two mindless political murders, but that doesn't mean the proposition is untrue. It is, we might say, half-true, like almost everything else in these books. There are half-lives that are not worth living. There are half-lives that are fairly desirable—particularly if you can throw off the idea of any sort of full life.

Naipaul certainly likes playing with these fractions. In *The Enigma of Arrival* he writes harshly of being corrupted by "my half-English half-education." In *Half a Life*, people hear "half-news," are "half-ready," have a "half-feeling." Portuguese settlers in Africa inhabit "only a half-and-half world." A writer evokes a "quarter-real Indian town"; the politicians in a small pre-independence Indian state are "half-nationalists or quarter-nationalists or less." In *Magic Seeds* the idea of the half-life is ubiquitous, and Willie makes a remark that

Michael Wood, a professor of English at Princeton University, is the author, most recently, of The Road to Delphi: The Life and Afterlife of Oracles *(Farrar, Straus & Giroux).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DIVERSITY DEMOCRACY DIALOGUE

Introducing

THE NATION CLASSROOM

the new education program that answers the urgent need for all three

In these troubled times more than ever, it is every American educator's responsibility to encourage a healthy diversity of opinion while instilling in students the confidence to express themselves freely.

That is why we are so pleased to introduce **The Nation Classroom,** the independent new voice in education.

Consisting of low-cost bulk subscriptions to the magazine, **The Nation Classroom** also includes a weekly Teaching Guide, plus a full complement of teaching tools drawing on our unrivaled Archive of articles dating back to 1865.

So give your students a view of the world untainted by government or big business interests.

Find out how you can try The Nation Classroom in your high school or college RISK-FREE.

Visit our website at:
www.thenationclassroom.com
or mail this information request form today to:
The Nation Classroom, 33 Irving Place,
New York, NY 10003.

☐ **YES,** please send me more information on *The Nation Classroom and your no-obligation* risk-free trial.

NAME

SCHOOL/DISTRICT

ADDRESS

CITY/ST/ZIP

is "half a joke, but only half." There is the bewildering, tempting thought that in prison "you have to use mind or half-mind in a terrible, corrupting way." This is an epidemic of hybridity and looks like, and sometimes is, colonial disgust, or what one of the characters in *Magic Seeds* calls "the colonial psychosis."

Indians, says an Indian character in this novel, "have no idea of history." They can't make roads or finish buildings or get out of each other's way, and they themselves think their country is "twenty times sadder than...Africa." It's "as though you could do anything with people here, give them anything to live in, fit them in anywhere." The boys in one little town can't even play cricket. They don't have a proper bat or ball, and show "no style or true knowledge of the game." This is ludicrous, and I hope Naipaul means it to be so. Certainly the scorn for the half-life crumbles once we realize that in this vision there are only half-lives, and that the British in India, comfortable and confident as they were, did not achieve a better moral fraction. And that at home they can't play cricket as well as they used to.

We see the half-life differently when we live it ourselves. Naipaul has a fine phrase about Willie encountering "a kind of unreality, or a reality hard to grasp." The second possibility has a humility the first one lacks, and this perspective is even clearer in a sentence that has Willie contemplating "all the pathos of his nondescript past." If the nondescript has its pathos, then so does the half-and-half world, whether in Africa, India or London. When Willie left Ana in Africa he told her he was tired of living her life. She said, "Perhaps it wasn't really my life either." At the time Willie didn't understand what she meant, but he now assumes she was saying "that her life was as much a series of accidents as I thought mine was." "As I thought" is delicate, the very definition of the half-and-half. A life devoted to accident is thoroughly managed in its way.

The writing of these two novels is not only "clean and cold," as J.M. Coetzee said of the first, but oddly abstract and often pitched as summary or outline rather than evocation: Evelyn Waugh without the detail or the jokes, you might think at first. Then you realize the jokes are there but quite remote: like a distant voice or a haughty manner. In *Half a Life*, Willie's father keeps getting promoted in the tax department in spite of his incompetence and mild acts of sabotage. He says, "It was like civil disobedience in reverse." A London prostitute tells Willie to keep his socks on. "Strange words," Willie reflects, "heard often before, but never with such a literal meaning." In *Magic Seeds* Willie is told when he joins the Indian guerrillas that he "looks at home everywhere." He says, "It's the one thing I have worked at all my life; not being at home anywhere, but looking at home." Sometime later, during those guerrilla days, he kills an innocent farmer—at least I think he does, it's hard to tell, that's how distant the voice is. Willie trains a gun on the farmer, hears his commander's voice tell him to shoot and we read: "And the figure who had been trembling in and out of the gunsight half spun to one side, as though he had been dealt a heavy blow, and then fell on the path on the slope." It's true that Willie realizes at this point that he is "among absolute maniacs," but that's all he seems to realize. This is not much of a joke, but it has the structure of a homicidal pratfall, the clown falling into the tub of water and killing the man who happened to be in it. Willie's life is "a form of drift," as he says. He is sensitive and intelligent, and sometimes means well. His most attractive feature, perhaps, is his shame. "I have so many causes of shame," he says. "In India, London, and Africa. They are fresh after twenty years. I don't think they will ever die. They will die only with me." It is an important feature of Naipaul's portrait of Willie that we don't know what to make of this prophecy. His shame could have lasted twenty years and died the next day, since we know he has illuminations he thinks of as miracles ("he felt he was being given some idea, elusive, impossible to grasp, yet real") and forgets within two weeks: "He settled into his new life, as he had settled into the many other lives that had claimed him at various times." He represents the curious case of a man who keeps making the gestures of hope, since at age 52 he is still waiting for his life to start, and yet whose mind has none of the content associated with optimism. "The day I understood the real world the optimism leaked out of me."

But then Willie does have insights that seem more durable, glimpses of "the darkness," as he thinks, "in which everybody walked." He remembers his "melancholy" father and his "aggressive" mother and understands "that there was no true place in the world for him." Or for anyone else. Willie thinks "back to that childhood when on some especially unhappy evenings there came, with the utmost clarity, a child's vision of the earth spinning in darkness, with everyone on it lost."

The ideas of hate and rage frame Roger's tale at the end of *Magic Seeds*. His modest ambition is not to die like his father, a courteous person who made himself happy by

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

insulting everyone at the last. "I suppose you would say that for my father death was his truest and happiest moment." Roger, less courteous in his earlier years, wants to die "at peace with the world," but his last thoughts on the subject, delivered after the tale of his sad affair with the working-class woman, are not cheering: "Already I begin to feel, as yet in a small way, the great solace of hate." Naipaul writes like a man who knows that solace, but finally prefers its counterpart: the misery that is undeniable but may be less than the whole story. Naipaul, in the end, is a novelist and not an ideologue. Tempted by despair, and clearly without optimism, he knows, although perhaps he would prefer not to, the limits of his own vision. ■

The Other Africans

LEELA JACINTO

THE IN-BETWEEN WORLD OF VIKRAM LALL.
By M.G. Vassanji. Knopf. 369 pp. $25.

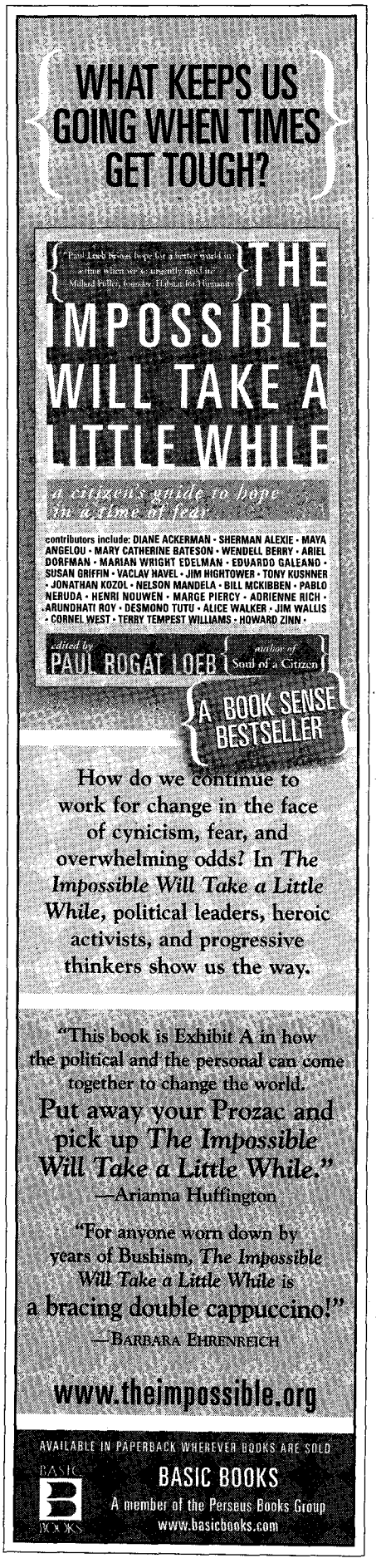
When V.S. Naipaul, the celebrated bard of Third World migrations, introduced the world to Salim in his 1979 novel *A Bend in the River*, he was lavishly praised for bringing alive characters new to English literature, the much overlooked inhabitants of places trapped between modernity and tradition. Certainly the likes of Salim, an Indian Muslim merchant doing business in an unnamed African country, were a rarity on Western bookshelves in the 1970s. Called "Asians" across East Africa, the community of shopkeepers, traders, petty officials and schoolteachers formed the hidden brown buffer zone between blacks and whites in colonial African society, a racial group rarely mentioned in the great white settler novels of Elspeth Huxley and Karen Blixen.

But over the past few years, a remarkable chronicler of the meeting and mingling of the world's peoples has emerged from Canada, a novelist much celebrated in our politically mild neighboring nation but woefully overlooked in the United States. A Canadian writer of Indian descent, M.G. Vassanji was born in Kenya and raised in what is now Tanzania. Like Naipaul—a Trinidad-born descendant of Indian laborers—Vassanji is a product of the mass movement of subjects within the colonial outposts of the British Empire. While both writers arrived in the industrialized world as scholarship students, Vassanji's journey to the West has a more dramatic edge. As a young man, Vassanji managed to purchase a passport under the table in Julius Nyerere's socialist Tanzania and left the country illegally, taking a bus to Kenya before flying on to Boston to study nuclear physics at MIT.

After studying in the United States, Vassanji moved to Toronto, where he worked as a physicist before taking up writing. A member of an acclaimed group of Canadian multicultural writers, Vassanji shot to fame in 1994, when his third novel, *The Book of Secrets*—a magnificently complex piece of fiction set in East Africa—was chosen as the inaugural winner of Canada's prestigious Giller Prize. In his latest novel, *The In-Between World of Vikram Lall*—which snagged him his second Giller Prize last year—Vassanji returns to Kenya, the land of his birth and once the pride of Britain's African colonies.

Narrated by Vikram Lall, a disreputable middle-aged businessman, from his new "home" on the shores of Canada's Lake Ontario, *The In-Between World* is an epic tale of modern Kenyan history, mapped out amid the major transplantations of the Lall family. In the course of about five decades, three generations of Lalls have migrated across three continents in a westward movement followed by a growing number of African-born Asians. As a young man, Vikram's grandfather Anand Lall—along with tens of thousands of other indentured laborers—is shipped from British India to "an alien, beautiful and wild country" across the seas to work on the grand Mombasa-Kampala railway, Britain's "Gateway to the African Jewel." In this adopted land Vikram's father, Ashok Lall, runs a grocery store in the central Kenyan town of Nakuru before moving to the capital, Nairobi. And it is from this country—now independent and governed by a clique of nepotistic politicians—that an adult Vikram is forced to flee Kenya's anticorruption hounds.

Leela Jacinto, a New York–based journalist, writes on Middle East and South Asian affairs.


WHAT KEEPS US GOING WHEN TIMES GET TOUGH?
THE IMPOSSIBLE WILL TAKE A LITTLE WHILE
a citizen's guide to hope in a time of fear
contributors include: DIANE ACKERMAN · SHERMAN ALEXIE · MAYA ANGELOU · MARY CATHERINE BATESON · WENDELL BERRY · ARIEL DORFMAN · MARIAN WRIGHT EDELMAN · EDUARDO GALEANO · SUSAN GRIFFIN · VACLAV HAVEL · JIM HIGHTOWER · TONY KUSHNER · JONATHAN KOZOL · NELSON MANDELA · BILL MCKIBBEN · PABLO NERUDA · HENRI NOUWEN · MARGE PIERCY · ADRIENNE RICH · ARUNDHATI ROY · DESMOND TUTU · ALICE WALKER · JIM WALLIS · CORNEL WEST · TERRY TEMPEST WILLIAMS · HOWARD ZINN ·
edited by PAUL ROGAT LOEB author of Soul of a Citizen
A BOOK SENSE BESTSELLER
How do we continue to work for change in the face of cynicism, fear, and overwhelming odds? In The Impossible Will Take a Little While, political leaders, heroic activists, and progressive thinkers show us the way.
"This book is Exhibit A in how the political and the personal can come together to change the world. Put away your Prozac and pick up The Impossible Will Take a Little While."
—Arianna Huffington
"For anyone worn down by years of Bushism, The Impossible Will Take a Little While is a bracing double cappuccino!"
—Barbara Ehrenreich
www.theimpossible.org
AVAILABLE IN PAPERBACK WHEREVER BOOKS ARE SOLD
BASIC BOOKS
A member of the Perseus Books Group
www.basicbooks.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Panegyric for the Plane Tree Fallen on Fifth Avenue

At the end of Eighty-eighth,
across from the museum and as west as east
will take you to the park from Gracie Mansion.
Before the lightning brought it down,
before it fell at evening rush hour,
before another summer burned the money
off its leaves, before
it put a sudden stop to traffic,
you could stand here late at night
in the middle of the street
and watch it grow,
the outer darker skin
flaking to the bone bark underneath.
It was probably too tall,
and filled too easily with wind,
too brilliantly with rain
and ice and snow.
And probably its roots were shallow
with the sidewalk, the breakable
high branches threatening.
Maybe it was thirty, thirty-five years old,
planted in the forties, after war,
and because of where it was,
flowering like a blessing,
allowed its larger seasons.
In 1979, sempiternal and a year,
the city was a buyer's market,
if you already owned
and had a million in the bank.
Mornings the gold coin of the sun
rose from the East River, set in the Hudson.
These hybrids of the sycamore
lined all the avenue along the park.
If a tree falls in the forest...
If a tree has no witness...
A hundred of us saw it hit and fall.
Fall slow enough no one near was caught.
First the thunderbolt thrown straight
at its carved heart, then
the killing blood-spurt of a fire.
It was cut up and gone within an hour,
though the evidence of its absence almost lasted.
How many times I leaned against its length,
waiting for the crossing light to change.

Stanley Plumly

The story of Vikram Lall's rise and fall begins in 1953, more than half a century after the great European powers divvied up the African continent at the 1885 Berlin Conference. As Vikram and his school friends obsess about Queen Elizabeth's coronation in distant London, the young monarch's sweating foot soldiers are fighting a violent anticolonial insurgency in the Kenyan countryside. In the majestic Rift Valley, members of the dominant Kikuyu tribe, impoverished and festering under the massive European land-grab, are taking secret oaths to drive out the white colonizers. Faced with a furtive, loosely organized native rebellion they've taken to calling the "Mau Mau" uprising in an attempt to demonize the restive tribes, the British administrators are waging their very own "war on terror." Brutal killings of white settlers by Mau Mau rebels are followed by vicious British crackdowns involving prolonged detentions, interrogations, tortures, custodial deaths and executions, which in turn fuel further local support for the Mau Mau.

But the bloodshed engulfing this troubled land has yet to touch the 8-year-old Vikram, growing up in Nakuru. Every Saturday morning, in an unpaved parking lot near his father's grocery store, Vikram plays with his little sister, Deepa, and their friends, Bill and Anne—a pair of well-scrubbed English siblings—and Njoroge, the "matt black, wooly-haired" grandson of the Lalls' faithful Kikuyu gardener.

It's an unlikely multiracial mix of kids whooping it up in a parking lot, a calm before Kenya's political storms will rip them along the very racial lines they appear to have transcended in more innocent times. But even in childhood, racial intersections are self-conscious affairs. Vikram, for instance, is acutely aware of his nebulous status between the oppressors and the oppressed, an existential state of "in-betweenness" that will dog him for the rest of his life. "I couldn't help feeling that both Bill and Njoroge were genuine, in their very different ways; only I, who stood in the middle, Vikram Lall, cherished son of an Indian grocer, sounded false to myself, rang hollow like a bad penny," he recalls years later in exile.

In his use of characters to allegorize racial relations, Vassanji seems to be winking and nudging at Ngugi wa Thiongo, Kenya's best-known novelist and one who has treated Kenyan Asians as compradors for collaborating with the British during the colonial era and then thriving economically as an isolated capitalist class in postcolonial Kenya. By naming his main Kikuyu character Njoroge—whose namesake in Ngugi's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Weep Not, Child also grows up during the Mau Mau rebellion—Vassanji appears to be raising his literary hat to Kenya's preeminent postcolonial writer. But in his complex, politically ambivalent portrayal of Africa's Asian community, Vassanji appears to be mocking Ngugi's depiction of Kenyan society through the manichean prisms of class struggle and nationalism.

Indeed, Vassanji's view of Kenya's Asians appears as ambivalent as his "in-between" protagonist's identity crisis. For every Mahesh Uncle, a veteran of the Mahatma Gandhi's Indian freedom struggle and a Mau Mau supporter, there's someone like Vikram's father, Ashok, a stereotypical "hearty" (and none too bright) Punjabi, loyal to the Queen and a member of the Asian Home Guard troops used by the British to suppress the blacks. And by far the most racist character in *The In-Between World* turns out to be Vikram's mother, whose vicious squashing of Deepa's romance with Njoroge mixes the worst Hindu traditions from the subcontinent—caste-consciousness, communalism and abject disregard for individual will—with the nastiest elements of colonialism.

For Vikram, the ambiguity of his identity will morally and emotionally cripple him in later years as he turns—impassively and without too much reflection—into a money-changing middleman. In the newly independent Kenya, where power has shifted to a group of black elites headed by Jomo Kenyatta, the country's first president, Vikram's community has suddenly slunk from protected colonial collaborators to potential victims. Disproportionately wealthy, avowedly apolitical and intent on keeping themselves culturally and economically apart from black Africans, the Indians now face two stark choices: Pack up and flee—hopefully to Britain—or shell out considerable sums to sundry officials and thugs with political connections to survive. In this climate of rampant corruption, Vikram is the ideal invisible go-between, the middleman who can be trusted to transfer slush funds, hold awkward secrets and pay the requisite personal respects—along with suitcases of cash—to an increasingly duplicitous Kenyatta ensconced in Nairobi's lavish State House.

Years later, while snowbound in his Canadian home-in-exile with only the odd visits from the local librarian for company, Vikram is dispassionate about the moral choices he's made. "Politics confused me; large abstract ideas bewildered me; and—what was definitely incorrect in newly independent Africa—I had no clear sense of the antagonists, of the right side and the wrong side." In his urge to tell his story without moral judgments or frills, Vikram is ever the objective chronicler. "In this clement retreat to which I have withdrawn myself, away from the torrid current temper of my country," he writes at the start of the book, "I find myself with all the time and seclusion I may ever need for my purpose."

While Vikram has sought refuge in "clement" Canada, his new country seems to barely impinge on his consciousness, intent as he is on recording his past in a distant, dangerous land. Vassanji belongs to a distinguished group of foreign-born Canadian writers, notably Bombay-born Rohinton Mistry and Sri Lanka–born Michael Ondaatje, who use their new country as a sort of parking lot. Unlike Monica Ali and Zadie Smith, whose novels take place in bustling London immigrant neighborhoods, and unlike Jhumpa Lahiri, whose stories unfold in suburban South Asian American homes, Canada's multicultural writers prefer to train their visions back on their abandoned homes.

The lens through which Vassanji views his native land is certainly sharper than Naipaul's gloomy vision of postcolonial African malaise. Africa, through Naipaul's despairingly sinister glasses, is a "stinking, rotting" caricature of a Third World hellhole, a continent best visited briefly before summarily (and quite literally) writing it off. On the other hand, Vassanji's Africa is a more nuanced terrain, an inhabited space, where the baggage of history jostles with the actions—or passivity—of its inhabitants, and where hope, generosity and personal responsibility wrestle with despair, greed and corruption.

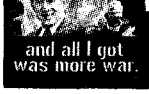
But Vassanji is by no means an apologist for Africa or its Asian community. Like Naipaul, he is adept at tearing the skin of corruption to reveal its bloody, hidden entrails. While Naipaul's Salim is driven to smuggling ivory and gold in a thinly veiled Zaire traumatized by the mad political ambitions of The Big Man, or Mobutu Sese Seko, Vikram too finds himself spiraling into corruption to satisfy Kenyatta's growing greed. But, unlike Naipaul's African novels set in unidentified countries and ruled by unnamed dictators, Vassanji's stories are rooted in a specific historical context. And he's also not afraid to point fingers at Africa's formidable statesmen. In *The Book of Secrets* Nyerere makes an appearance as the vaguely sinister Mwalimu, or "teacher" in Swahili. In *The In-Between World* Vassanji goes one step further and includes Kenyatta as a character, an imposing leader who doles out privileges in exchange for lavish gifts and infusions into personal bank accounts.

2005 CAT LOVERS AGAINST THE BOMB wall calendar, $7.95 each + $1.50 postage. Published by Nebraskans for Peace. Order from: CLAB, PO Box 83466, Lincoln, NE 68501. Toll free (877) 778-3434; fax (402) 483-4108. E-mail catcal@redjellyfish.net.

"Terror, American Style" t-shirt • item #1947 • sizes S-3X
Products for Progressives since 1979.
Northern Sun Merchandising
to order, or for a free catalog • 800.258.8579 xTN
www.northernsun.com

ATTENTION VETERANS!!
Got Questions?
An insiders guide to federal benefits for you and your loved ones. Know Your Options!
Visit www.BLJMEDIA.com for details or call (888) 871-4292.
Free recorded message.

The resistance continues
Our "no surrender" button set!

I voted in '04

and all I got was more war.
anti-war, peace & justice t-shirts & buttons
profits go to activists
WWW.PROTESTWORKS.COM
or write POB 424906, SF, CA 94142

History, Architecture, and Culture
March 7-20, 2005 & May 25-June 11, 2005
Experience the warmth of Iranian culture and help foster greater understanding between our peoples.
GLOBAL EXCHANGE
Reality Tours
800-497-1994 ext. 251 | www.globalexchange.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If there's one thing lacking in *The In-Between World*, it's a moral stance, something Vassanji shares with his protagonist. With Vikram as his narrator, Vassanji seems to be a writer in complete control of his material: self-possessed, steady and dispassionate. But the book suffers at times from its reluctance to issue any kind of historical judgment, and one begins to long for some of Naipaul's withering pronouncements. Does Vassanji view the Mau Mau as freedom fighters or coldblooded killers? Are East Africa's Asians collaborators or victims? Was Kenya better or worse off under the British? Vassanji prefers to leave these judgments to his readers. Ultimately, this might be a good thing, despite—or perhaps because of—the sense of irresolution it produces. In these days of good versus evil, of coalitions of willing allies pitted against axes of evil, Naipaul's dependable "hard truths" about the Third World enjoy an understandable currency in the West. But Vassanji's keen grasp of the murkiness of colonial warfare offers a more instructive guide to our troubled times. ■

The Illusion of Inclusion

JOHN PALATTELLA

THE YALE ANTHOLOGY OF TWENTIETH-CENTURY FRENCH POETRY.
Edited by Mary Ann Caws. Yale. 646 pp. $39.95.

In 1958 John Ashbery sailed for Paris to gather materials for a thesis he intended to write about Raymond Roussel, who at the time was an all-but-forgotten French poet, playwright and novelist. Ashbery discovered Roussel in 1951, when his friend Kenneth Koch shared with him a souvenir from a yearlong sojourn in France. It was a faded copy of Roussel's *Nouvelles Impressions d'Afrique* (1928), a poem comprising four cantos, each written in a single sentence that expands to an epic length through a system of nested parentheses. Not one of the cantos contains a single impression of Africa, which helps account for why, several years before taking his own life in 1933, Roussel had been called "the Proust of dreams." It was in part by immersing himself in those dreams that Ashbery learned to manufacture exotic realities in a matter-of-fact way. Ashbery's poem "The Instruction Manual," for instance, written in the mid-1950s, could very well have been titled "Nouvelles Impressions de Métal." The speaker of the poem is at his job and must write an instruction manual about the uses of a new metal; instead, he blithely conjures up a vivid and precise travelogue about Guadalajara, a place he has never visited.

Shortly before embarking for France, Ashbery informed Koch that he was reading Roussel's novel *Locus Solus*, which he found to be a revelation. "*Locus Solus* is the greatest thing I've read in years," he told his friend in a letter. "It's like a bouquet of cast-iron forget-me-nots." At the heart of that bouquet is a knot impossible to untangle, not least because the bouquet is an extravagant and mysterious image—what must we not forget?—that seems to have been gathered from Roussel's own scrupulously cultivated French garden. There's also the matter of cross-pollination. By the time Ashbery arrived in Paris in 1958, many American poets had already found in French poetry a grand license to experiment. The trail Ashbery followed had been blazed by William Carlos Williams, Hart Crane and other poets who had discovered Dada in American and British little magazines in the teens and traveled to Paris during the Roaring Twenties to plunge into the city's mélange of Cubist paintings and Surrealist poems.

But no predecessor was as important as T.S. Eliot, who was the first modern American poet to read French poetry critically, seeking not to mimic its styles but to absorb its lessons in order to rejuvenate poetry in English. As a young poet Eliot was captivated by the opening lines of Charles Baudelaire's "Les Sept vieillards," in which ghosts swarm a city sidewalk and accost pedestrians in broad daylight: "Fourmillante cité, cité pleine de rêves,/Où le spectre en plein jour raccroche le passant." "I knew what that meant," Eliot recalled in 1950, "because I had lived it before I knew that I wanted to turn it into verse on my own account." From Baudelaire's *Les Fleurs du mal* Eliot learned how to transform the sordid streets of a modern metropolis into the stage of his own suffering. And from the little-known poet Jules Laforgue, Eliot learned how to create a confessional persona for that stage by amalgamating the voices of a mocking commentator and a droll sufferer. Impressions culled from the streets of Boston and London fill "The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock," "Preludes" and *The Waste Land*, but each poem's splenetic tone is French.

Eliot and Ashbery are among the American poets whose translations of French poems Paul Auster chose to include in *The Random House Book of Twentieth-Century French Poetry*. Until the appearance of Auster's book in 1982, American readers had to make do with a hodgepodge of anthologies of French poetry in translation—period collections like *French Poets Today* (1971), which focuses on poetry published since 1950, school primers like *Modern French Poetry: A Bilingual Anthology* (1975) and movement chronicles like *The Poetry of Surrealism: An Anthology* (1974) or *The Négritude Poets: An Anthology of Translations from the French* (1975). The convenience of having poems by Guillaume Apollinaire, Pierre Reverdy and Aimé Césaire in one volume was one of the strengths of Auster's anthology. Another was the inclusion of dozens of translations by American poets: Eliot, Pound, Williams, Ashbery, Wallace Stevens, Ron Padgett, Kenneth Rexroth, Denise Levertov, Richard Wilbur, Richard Howard, Keith Waldrop, Rosmarie Waldrop, W.S. Merwin, Lawrence Ferlinghetti, James Wright, Charles Simic, Clayton Eshleman, Michael Palmer and Auster himself. Auster's accomplishment was to dramatize, as no anthologist had before, how the histories of American and French poetry became intertwined during the twentieth century, growing into a knot impossible to untangle.

Translations by some of these American poets are reprinted in *The Yale Anthology of Twentieth-Century French Poetry*, but their presence wasn't enough to quell my frustration with Mary Ann Caws's book, which samples from work by hundreds of well-known and lesser-known French and Francophone poets. (Like Caws, by "Francophone poets" I mean poets who write in French and live in former French colonies in Canada, the Caribbean and Africa, including the Maghreb.) The anthology opens with lush poems written in the shadow of Baudelaire and Mallarmé amid the riches of empire and the industrial metropolis. But that era ended with the Great War, when the reign of the machine was obliterated by machines raining down bombs. Dadaists reacted by launching an

John Palattella writes about poetry regularly for The Nation *and other publications.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

assault on reason and civilization while Surrealists probed the revolutionary unconscious. In the aftermath of World War II, some poets pared the lyric of music and metaphor to explore essential questions about the nature of language and existence; others used Surrealism to smash or rejuvenate the literary legacy of French in colonial and postcolonial times. More recently, poets have taken up Mallarméan language games with great fervor.

These general dimensions aren't the problem with Caws's anthology. The problem is that the anthology only has general dimensions. Caws has sacrificed selectivity for comprehensiveness. Reading Auster's anthology is like stumbling into a large, long-running block party where some poets cluster in the middle of the street while others mingle near the curb. Reading Caws's book is like wandering through a vast trade fair.

In 1975 Auster translated a selection of contemporary French poems for *Triquarterly*, which he prefaced with a robust polemic against, of all things, anthologies. "An anthology is not merely a gathering of poems," he explained. "It is a statement, an instrument of literary categorization and cultural assimilation. Its implicit motive is coherence. It does not merely offer poems, but says: this is the kind of work that best represents what is happening today. The poem is given to us as an example of something other than itself, and in extreme cases it is allowed to disappear altogether." Auster is right. No matter how benign its editor's designs, any anthology is susceptible to certain problems, the most dangerous being the illusions of coherence and comprehensiveness.

Not all anthologies succumb to these problems. In *The Random House Book of Twentieth-Century French Poetry*, Auster presents generous selections from the work of forty-eight poets. He includes five or six poems for the majority of the poets, while allotting between ten and fourteen poems to key figures such as Blaise Cendrars, whose "Prose du Trans-sibérien et de la petite Jeanne de France" is as hallucinatory as Allen Ginsberg's *Howl*. There's also René Char, who joined the Maquis during World War II and wrote concise, fragmented lyrics amid the ruins of postwar France. Auster's samples of a poet's work are large and varied enough to allow a reader to appreciate each poet on his or her own terms; the selections gently push back against the coherence of the anthology. Moreover, Auster rejuvenates familiar poems by presenting them in a new light, as in the case of Samuel Beckett's vibrant translation of Apollinaire's internationally influential "Zone," which begins the book: "From the midst of fervent flames Our Lady beheld me at Chartres/ The blood of your Sacred Heart flooded me in Montmartre/ I am sick with hearing the words of bliss/ The love I endure is like a syphilis/ And the image that possesses you and never leaves your side/ In anguish and insomnia keeps you alive." Auster is a judicious editor, and the overall effect of his method is subtle yet unmistakable. His book is less an anthology than a collection of individual voices.

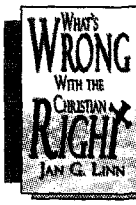
Caws's anthology, by contrast, is encyclopedic. Whereas Auster apportions 326 poems among forty-eight poets, Caws scatters 297 poems among 120 poets. A majority of the poets in Caws's anthology are allotted no more than two or three poems, and a handful are given just one; only a very few poets are represented by six or seven poems. One reason Caws has chased the dream of comprehensiveness is to redress imbalances of past anthologies. Anne-Marie Albiach, whose *État* (1971) is a landmark of contemporary French poetry, is the only woman in Auster's roster of forty-eight poets. Caws has included poems by a number of notable women, such as Albiach, Marguerite Yourcenar, Joyce Mansour, Claire Malroux and Michelle Grangaud. Like Martin Sorrell, who edited *Elles: A Bilingual Anthology of Modern French Poetry by Women* (1995), and Liliane Giraudon and Henri Deluy, who edited *Poésies en France depuis 1960: 29 femmes* (1994), Caws has selected some poems in which women continue to wrestle with the legacy of *écriture féminine*, an idea that emerged during the first wave of French feminism in the mid-1970s. Is poetry by women inherently feminine or beyond gender? If it is inherently feminine, what are its unique linguistic qualities?

At the same time, it's hard to determine just what kind of imbalance Caws has tried to redress by including one poem each by Pablo Picasso and Michel Houellebecq. "Ses grosses cuisses" ("Her Great Thighs") reveals that Picasso cranked out bad automatic writing: "Her great thighs/ Her breasts/ Her hips/ Her buttocks/ Her arms/ Her calves/ Her hands/ Her eyes/ Her cheeks/ Her hair/ Her nose/ Her throat/ Her tears." "Dans l'air limpide" ("In the Limpid Air") shows that Houellebecq, besides being France's most caustic and capricious contemporary novelist, can also write mediocre prose poems. Caws is fond of such curios. Here are a couple of poems by the erotic novelist Georges Bataille; here's a poem by Greta Knutson, who was married for a time to Tristan Tzara. While mildly in-

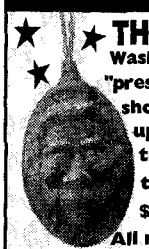
Blame the Powerful
Political Poems
by Robert Anbian
available exclusively at
www.ProtestWorks.com

WE TURN WRITERS INTO AUTHORS
Internationally acclaimed manuscript review and ghostwriting (memoirs, business, culture, etc.) with 35-time author Michael Levin. Recommended by Scott Turow and Dan Poynter.
Call toll-free (800) 637-6856.
www.Writer2Author.com

Francisco Zuniga
Two Squatting Women
Dr. David Prensky
(561) 832-8511


"A careful, thoughtful, well researched examination of those we call the Christian Right" —James Autry of People for the American Way
BrownWalkerPress (.com) $17.95

CRUISE BY FREIGHTER
TravLtips
Worldwide. First Class Relaxing. Reasonable
e-mail: info@travltips.com
800-872-8584 www.travltips.com

GEORGE W. BUSH
"DOPE" ON A ROPE!

THIS HOLIDAY SEASON
Wash away your anger with the "president" you can hang in your shower! Finally, Bush is cleaning up America - one armpit at a time. The more you use him... the smaller he gets!
$10.00 per head.
All natural soap. (310) 980-5353
www.dopeonarope.com

ADVERTISE IN *THE NATION*
(212) 209-5414

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

triguing, these poems could have been excluded, if only to allot more than a poem or two to the Algerian novelist Mohammed Dib, the Senegalese poet Léopold Sédar Senghor and the Martiniquan poet Aimé Césaire, whose idea of négritude owes much to the poems written by James Weldon Johnson, Jean Toomer and Claude McKay during the Harlem Renaissance.

Caws is to be commended for selecting Dib and Senghor (neither of whom appears in Auster's anthology). As it is, hardly any of Dib's poetry is available in English translation. But Caws underplays their work by allotting it just a tad more space than the curios she has included. It's editorial decisions like this that show why the dream of comprehensiveness is just that, an illusion. After all, comprehensiveness is something of a trick, since the ideal reader of an anthology is someone who knows little about the literature being presented but is eager to learn more. Comprehensiveness can only be judged by an expert like Caws, someone who would be the least inclined to pick up an anthology. And an anthology comprehensive enough to satisfy the curiosity of such an expert would be unreadable for a novice (and unmarketable for a publisher). An anthology has a better chance of becoming indispensable if an editor focuses on selecting poets whose work it would be inconceivable not to include, and justifying those selections, as well as the exclusions, in the introduction.

Why might translations of French-language poetry arouse the interest of a reader who isn't a Francophile or a poetry nerd? Caws doesn't ask this question, although the sprawling format of her anthology offers an answer of sorts: The work of Francophone poets is something to be honored from afar—look, what a vast array of riches!—instead of read closely and selectively. The question may be obvious but it needs to be asked, since much of the work in Caws's anthology, with the exception of Surrealist poetry, may strike a newcomer as bizarre. After all, the basic materials of much contemporary American poetry are colloquial language, an intimate speaking voice and quotidian social details; as for a poem's subject, naked emotion often commands center stage. Even American poets who shy away from escorting their inner lives into a reader's living room often write poems in an intimate voice that invites the reader into an imagined dialogue.

Since Surrealism's collapse after World War II, many French poets have been deeply suspicious of voice, metaphor and song. There are the poets affiliated with OULIPO (an acronym for *Ouvroir de littérature potentielle*, or Workshop of Potential Literature), who write according to elaborate formal constraints that downplay the drama of speaking in favor of the drama of language playing itself out in an unpredictable way. In her 1995 collection *Formes de l'anagramme*, the oulipean Michelle Grangaud includes poems in which each line contains a different anagram of a thirty-two letter title like "Isidore Ducasse comte de Lautréamont." To make matters more elaborate, each poem is a sestina. Or, beyond OULIPO, there's Christophe Tarkos, whose intense use of repetition, which echoes the work of Gertrude Stein, stems from his belief that meaning lies in constantly reworking what he has called "word-doh," or the malleable stuff of language. In *Sign=* he writes:

> There are no words. Words mean nothing. Words have no meaning. There are no words because there is a meaning, meaning has emptied words of all signification, has emptied them completely, nothing remains to the words they're empty emptied sacks that have been emptied, meaning has taken all meaning, left nothing for words, empty shells, meaning debates by itself, doesn't need words, meaning wants everything, has its go, is related to nothing, words are related to nothing.

Nothing indeed. The poet Adam Zagajewski complains that for several decades the typical French lyric has been "a methodological monologue, an endless meditation on the question of whether poems are possible at all. It's as though some introspective tailor had stopped making clothes, ceaselessly pondering instead the marvelous Arabian proverb 'The needle that clothes so many people stays naked itself.'" This assessment is accurate but uncharitable. What Zagajewski doesn't mention is that during the past several decades a number of French poets have sought alternatives to a home-grown hermeticism by translating poems, often for the first time.

A brief chronology of translations from English: In 1968 Denis Roche translates Ezra Pound's *Pisan Cantos*. That same year Serge Fauchereau publishes his important critical survey of twentieth-century American poetry, *Lecture de la poésie américaine*. In 1969 Emmanuel Hocquard establishes Orange Export Ltd., a small press that publishes the work of American poets in translation. During the 1980s Yves di Manno translates Pound's *Cantos* as well as William Carlos Williams's *Paterson* and George Oppen's *Of Being Numerous* and *Primitive*. In 1996 Hocquard translates Michael Palmer's *Sun*. In 2000 Claire Malroux translates a selection of Emily Dickinson's poems and in 2002 she translates Wallace Stevens's *Harmonium*.

What has intrigued di Manno about this wave of translation is that in many cases French writers have found in the poems of Americans what American writers had found in the poems of the French. Di Manno explains that the qualities that have drawn him to Oppen, Williams and Pound—a rejection of the gauzy rhetoric of symbolism, the cultivation of a more prosaic verse line, the use of primary source materials—are also prominent in the poems of Blaise Cendrars, such as "Kodak." But Surrealism, with its emphasis on dream and romance, overshadowed Cendrars's poetry in France even as it was being embraced by Americans like John Dos Passos. Consequently, di Manno argues, if French poets are to escape the stifling legacy of the avant-garde salon, which has become an official anti-Academy, they must continue to look beyond themselves.

Reading the final grouping of Caws's anthology, "1981–2002: Young Poetry at the End of the Millennium," it's hard not to conclude that di Manno's argument has fallen mostly on deaf ears. But then again, Caws's sample is skewed, since many of the poets she has included pursue the Mallarméan path of prizing poetry as a pure exercise or game. There is a short excerpt from a long poem by Tarkos that reeks of the salon. There are also several poems by Pierre Alferi—elegant lyrics that quiver with a nimble verbal wit reminiscent of William Carlos Williams's *Spring and All*. Caws includes Alferi's alluring "quand rien n'entraine rien," but instead of reprinting an earlier translation, "when nothing gathers nothing," which appeared in Cole Swen-

EVENTS

NATIONAL

Economy Connection

■ War and Global Capitalism. Unemployment and Recession. For speakers and resources on these and related topics, contact Economy Connection, a project of the Union for Radical Political Economics. We provide speakers for events sponsored by community groups, unions, high schools, colleges or political organizations, to talk about the economic forces that generate income inequality, between and within countries. Contact us at (201) 792-7459 or soapbox@comcast.net. JOIN URPE! Contact www.urpe.org, (413) 577-0806, URPE@labornet.org.

The advertising deadline for Events is every Thursday. Rates: $175 for 50 words; $225 for 75 words, additional words (above 75) $2.00 each. To place an ad, call Leigh at (212) 209-5414.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

son's translation of Alferi's book *Natural Gaits* in 1995, she has commissioned a new translation by Chet Weiner, "When Nothing Entices Nothing." Weiner's version is an English translation of a French poem. Swenson's version is a new poem in English, as are her translations of the two other Alferi poems in the anthology.

One interesting young poet Caws has omitted is Sandra Moussempès. The author of three books, *Exercises d'incendie*, *Vestiges de fillette* and *Captures*, Moussempès has attracted attention on this side of the Atlantic, with translations having appeared in *The Germ*, *Circumference*, *Metamorphoses*, *Raddle Moon* and the French/American web magazine *double change*. Moussempès's work is unlike any of the contemporary poetry included in Caws's anthology. Laconic, caustic and haunting, the poems in *Vestiges de fillette* (Traces of a Little Girl) are laced with quasi-reportorial details of troubled social and psychological lives. Moussempès uses several different forms (lyric, prose poem, catalogue) to portray women drifting between infancy and adulthood, beguiling inertia and disoriented passion. Here, from a translation by Carolyn Shread published in *double change*, are the last two stanzas from "Penny Prose," the final poem of *Vestiges de fillette*.

I stand in front of the hearth, I look at
myself in the mirror.
On the other side, Penny smiles at me,
she tells me to come and join her.
Her lips articulate inaudible words.
I draw a red circle on the mirror, I place
my hands on hers.
We both slip down the glass surfaces.

Light enters the room, I must hurry.
Penny looks happy.
Her hair twirls in red curls behind the
silvering
She keeps moving her lips:
COME! CROSS THE MIRROR AND
COME JOIN ME!
Her voice grows thin. She needs me.
I glance at her, I want to kiss her.
Little Penny, alone far away in my room.
I shout with all my might:
"HERE THE WORLD IS UNDER A
SPELL!"
The fire in the hearth goes out, I cross
the frontier.

The drama of reflection, attraction and seduction that ends Moussempès's poem is also a fitting analogy for the history of correspondences between French and American poetry. What do French and American poets hear when they read or translate each other's work? The murmur of confirmation or the thunderclap of revelation? ■

Classified

While we reserve the right to edit, reject or reclassify any advertisement, The Nation *wishes its readers to know we don't have the facilities to check the promises made by our advertisers, and we have a strong presumption against censoring any advertisement, especially if we disagree with its politics.*

BOOKLETS

PROOF JESUS FICTIONAL. Scholarly booklet conclusively proves Flavius Josephus (Romans) created fictional Jesus, authored gospels. Amazing but absolutely incontrovertible! $10: Abelard, Box 5652-A, Kent, WA 98064. (details, SASE).

SELF DELUSION? *The Murder of Animals Is the Death of Humans*. Free booklet. (800) 846-2691.

BOOKS

LIVING PROOF OF NATURAL CURES. Infinity Publishing.com. This is a result of more than fifty years of researching ancient to modern breakthroughs of natural relief and cures. These enable you to avoid dangerous and expensive drugs, which cause almost as many deaths per year as automobile accidents. To order online: www.bbotw.com/description.asp? ISBN=0-7414-2056. Author: Nina Vinson Toth. Keyword: Living. ISBN# 0-7414-2056-2. US $10.95 plus $4.50 S&H; Canada $10.95 plus $8 S&H. Or call toll-free, (877) 289-2665.

STAY IN TOUCH WITH CUBA—PEX, importing and selling Cuban cultural products in the United States since 1989. Books, magazines, CDs, videos and more. 1-888-458-CUBA or www.pexstore.com.

BARKING DOGMAS SOMETIMES BITE by Joseph Walden. Irreverent opinion in prose, humor, satire, witticisms and social commentary. $12 postpaid. www.barkingdogmas.com.

CHIROPRACTOR

DR. VITTORIA REPETTO, CHIROPRACTOR. Applied kinesiologist, manipulation, muscle-balancing, organ energy, cranial, sacral & acu-point work. One-hour sessions. (212) 431-3724, www.drvittoriarepetto.meta-ehealth.com.

CONSULTING

GET THE EDGE! As progressive as your politics . . . marketing, sales, human resources: www.TheAddedEdge.com. Catalytic Coaching: www.AddedEdge.com.

DONATIONS

WANT TO REALLY CONTRIBUTE TO YOUR ALMA MATER? Buy a class *The Nation* for a semester. If you know a professor who would like to offer free semester-length student subscriptions to her/his students, we'll offer you 12 or 16 weeks at the lowest prices we charge anywhere. For information write: Classroom Education Program, The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

EDUCATION

STUDY SPANISH IN MANHATTAN! Small, friendly nonprofit school. Affordable, twelve-week program begins January 24. Call Centro de Educación de Trabajadores, (212) 765-4634.

FARMING

WWW.PROPHECYANDSURVIVAL.COM. Iroquois White Corn Project: indigenous prophecy, climate change, and horticulture.

GOURMET FOOD

VEGETARIAN MEAL DELIVERY SERVICE—Manhattan to New Paltz, New York. Healthy, heartbreakingly delicious meals prepared by a professional, political chef. (845) 255-8VEG or www.lagustasluscious.com.

LIBERAL LIAISONS

Concerned Singles links singles concerned about peace, justice, race/gender equity, environment. Since 1984. Nationwide/international. All ages; straight/gay. Free sample: Box 444-NA, Lenox Dale, MA 01242; (413) 243-4350; www.concernedsingles.com.

SINGLE MALE, GOOD LISTENER, 65, politically active, progressive, amateur acting, PhD, likes jazz, folk, classical, satire. Seeking intelligent woman, 50–65, similar interests, nonsmoking, friendship first, Cincinnati area. Reply Nation Box 404, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

THE RIGHT STUFF: Date fellow graduates and faculty of the Ivies, Seven Sisters, Stanford, UCB, University of Chicago, Northwestern and others. More than 4,000 members. See www.rightstuffdating.com, (800) 988-5288.

EROTIC ADULT PHONE CONVERSATION with sensual, intelligent women. Any topic welcome! VISA/MC/AMEX. Call (888) 495-8255.

FETISHES AND FANTASIES fulfilled. Hot erotic talk with creative, sensuous woman. No limits. Personal, confidential. Call (866) 844-8286.

GREENSINGLES.COM—Free photo ads for progressive singles in the environmental, vegetarian and animal rights communities. Searchable listings for friendship, dating, marriage. Since 1985. www.GreenSingles.com

If responding to a Nation Box number, send replies to: Nation Box ___, The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

MERCHANDISE

DECOMPRESSION FOR THE DEMOCRAT!™ SeeYaGeorge.com. Over 100 Anti-Bush & Anti-Republican items and growing!

PEACE PLEASE
Products and messages that promote peace
www.peaceplease.com. T-shirts, caps, jewelry, more + Voices for Peace Forum. Sales help peace organizations.

SHOP FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE! 300+ name-brand stores helping your favorite organization. www.HEARTof.com.

SUPPORT *THE NATION* AND OUR NATION! Shop online at http://shop.thenation.com and exercise subtle and not so subtle dissent. Great gifts (prices on some items now reduced).

UnSeatBUSH.com. Assorted affordable bumper stickers! Excellent nonprofit fundraisers. Spread visible resistance/awareness! (619) 226-1116.

ORGANIZATIONS

TUCSON, AZ, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP FORMING. Contact Dave at (520) 885-4767.

DENTON (CORINTH), TX *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is forming. Contact John at (940) 498-4485 or john2348@charter.net for more information.

WILLOW SPRINGS, NC, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP forming. E-mail Mollie Belcher at Mjb1009@msn.com for more information.

NEW SAN FRANCISCO *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP to meet regularly on Nob Hill. Please contact George Schroeder via e-mail for more information: georges1202@comcast.net.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Classified

ORGANIZATIONS

JOIN THE NEW CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP! Contact Jim Hurley at (434) 973-4807.

GAINESVILLE, FL, "THE NATION IS US" discussion group forming. Connect to Lewwelge2@aol.com or (904) 398-2335.

BREVARD, NC, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP FORMING. E-mail Jim at JKeenen@aol.com or Don at GAIA@citcom.net.

THE *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP of the Inland Northwest is forming in the Cheney/Spokane area of eastern Washington. For information contact Gil Murray. Tel: (509) 235-1574; e-mail murraygil@aol.com.

ATTENTION BENELUX *NATION* READERS! Want your own *Nation* discussion group? Group to meet in Hasselt (Limburg), Belgium. For further information e-mail associates@thenation.com or write The Nation Associates, *The Nation*, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003, USA.

THE BROWARD COUNTY, FL, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is looking for members. For further information please contact Bob Bellinson. Call (954) 977-9569, e-mail bob@fl1.powerflite.net.

PORTLAND/VANCOUVER *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP meets every second Sunday afternoon of the month. For more information, contact Mark Stephan at (503) 240-4965.

SOUTH YORK COUNTY, ME, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is forming. For further information please contact Herb. Call (207) 646-5431, e-mail pala@maine.rr.com.

PITTSBURGH *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP REFORMING under new direction. Please contact us again. Contact (412) 486-4791, or pghnationgroup@yahoo.com.

WESTERLY, RI, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP FORMING. Call Patricia at (401) 596-9341 or e-mail fineco@riconnect.com.

MANCHESTER, CT, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP forming. Call Gary at (860) 498-4486 after 6:30 PM. Planning to meet on the last Sunday of every month.

ST. LOUIS AREA *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP NOW forming. Please contact Mary at (314) 352-5155.

SAN JOSE, CA, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP meeting regularly. Please contact Lawrence Bryan for further information. Call (408) 294-1073 or e-mail sjnation@yahoogroups.com.

WHEELING, WV, *NATION* STUDY GROUP FORMING: This ad is legitimate and not a joke. Contact Dianne Burnham, (304) 232-0590.

CULVER CITY, CA, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP meets on the 3rd Sunday of every month, 3–5 PM. For more information call Dorothy Gilden at (310) 391-0068.

BRADENTON/SARASOTA *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is meeting monthly. Please call (941) 761-4873 for time and place.

JOIN THE TAMPA BAY AREA *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP. Contact ehombord@tampabay.rr.com or call (727) 895-0208.

STONE MOUNTAIN, GA, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is forming. For further information please call David C. McHenry at (770) 498-1297 or e-mail dmchenry@attbi.com.

CEDAR FALLS/WATERLOO, IA, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is forming. Phone Lou Hellwig at (319) 266-5363 or e-mail shellwig@cfu.net for more information.

EASTERN OKLAHOMA *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP looking for members. Please contact Howard Kelley at (918) 627-9136.

HUNTINGTON, LI, NY, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is looking for new members. Call John Valenti, (631) 549-3926.

POLICY

END THE DRUG WAR: See www.CommonSenseDrugPolicy.org, www.DrugWarFacts.org, www.DRCNet.org, www.MedicalMJ.org, www.DrugSense.org, www.AddictInTheFamily.org.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

TEACH ENGLISH, computer skills or citizenship preparation. Small, friendly nonprofit in Manhattan needs volunteers to teach adult immigrants. Evening hours. Spanish not required. Call Centro de Educación de Trabajadores, (212) 765-4634.

NATION STUDENT OUTREACH: Attention student activists! If you're involved in organizing a progressive event, lecture or film festival on your campus or in your community and would like to distribute copies of *The Nation*, please let us know by calling (212) 209-5416.

PSYCHIATRY

PSYCHIATRIST AND THERAPIST, Upper East Side Manhattan. Medication consultation. Treatment for depression, anxiety, parenting and psychosomatic symptoms. Many years' clinical and teaching experience. Telephone contact is assured prior to appointment. (212) 831-1050.

PSYCHOTHERAPY

UPPER WEST SIDE. Senior psychologist. $60 flat fee for psychotherapy regardless of your income. (212) 222-8085.

SAN FRANCISCO PSYCHOTHERAPIST treats depression, relationship issues, anxiety, crises. Consultation available. Sliding scale. Paula Holt, LCSW, (415) 289-6990.

WOMAN CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGIST, twenty-five years' experience. Insight-oriented and analytic. Free consultation. Sliding scale. Mutually agreed-upon fees. Insurance accepted. Carnegie Hall vicinity. Margaret Kinder, PhD, (212) 582-5508.

NEW YORK THERAPIST, twenty years' clinical and university-based experience. Separation and divorced parenting; divorced fathers. Individual, family and group. Bill Dineen, LCSW, (917) 566-4785.

NEW MEXICO PRIMAL THERAPY see www.primalreality.org.

DC/MD/VA PYCHOLOGIST, progressive approaches, thirty-four years' experience, aac-counselingassociates.com, Sliding scale, (301) 229-0044.

FAIRFIELD, CT, Yale-trained clinical psychologist/psychoanalyst, twenty-five years' experience. Depression, anxiety, relationship issues. Insurance accepted. Linda Ludwig, PhD, (203) 256-9788.

RELATIONSHIP JUNGIAN APPROACH. Paul Stein, PhD, (505) 577-8801, www.ecologyofdreamwork.com.

PUBLISHER

PUBLISH YOUR BOOK: Ivy House Publishing Group. All subjects considered for a free evaluation. Contact: 5122 Bur Oak Circle, Dept. N, Raleigh, NC 27612. Phone: (800) 948-2786. E-mail: publisher@ivyhousebooks.com.

RADIO

THE FOURTH TOWER OF INVERNESS, *Moon Over Morocco, Ruby* & more radio stories! FREE catalogue & CD! 1-800-662-3345 or info@zbs.org.

REAL ESTATE

COSTA RICAN TROPICAL OASIS for affordable luxury rentals and lots near San José. Fabulous mountain vistas. See www.crgetaway.com or call (800) 234-9331.

REAL ESTATE

SANTA FE. Progressive Realtor® seeks same in clients. Peter Kahn, Town & Ranch (800) 418-1221 x 171 or pkahn@keshi.com.

RENTAL

NEW YORK, NEW YORK: Room and bath, kitchen privileges in quiet Upper East Side Manhattan apartment. Days, weeks, *pied-à-terre* arrangements. (212) 722-4316.

TRAVEL/TOURS

EXPLORE POLITICS, ECONOMY, CULTURE ABROAD through Reality Tours with Global Exchange. See ad in *The Nation*, page 33, www.globalexchange.org.

GRANADA, NICARAGUA—Vacation rentals. Newly renovated colonial houses centrally located in this fascinating town. www.nicaraguasojourn.com.

WEBSITES

DON'T MOURN, ORGANIZE. Daily blog by *Nation* writer dedicated to winning back America. Progressive news and commentary. www.boldprint.net.

THE REAL DEAL? Untouched by the Carlyle Group, Halliburton, Bechtel, White House, House of Bush and House of Saud. Straightforward talk at the independent, Washington, DC–based, WWW.SAUDIPOLITICS.COM.

www.oldtownreview.com: *"If this is the path one chooses, let's at least get it out in the open."*

CLASSIFIED ORDER FORM

Rates and Frequency Discounts: STANDARD $3.50/word, 15-word minimum; PO Box and telephone numbers count as two words.

Buy 4 runs, pay $3.15 per word
Buy 10 runs, pay $3.00 per word
Buy 24 runs, pay $2.75 per word
Buy 47 runs, pay $2.25 per word

Logos: We will print your logo and center the headline of your advertisement for an additional fee of $45/insertion. Maximum size for a logo is 2 1/4″ wide by 1/2″ deep. Stat of logo should accompany ad copy and payment.

Deadline: Tuesday, 3 PM, 27 days prior to Monday issue date.

Payment in US currency or major credit card must accompany order.

Enclosed is my check for $_____ for __ insertions at $_____ / word rate.

"Personals" advertisers: Be sure to include $30 for Nation Box number/forwarding service.

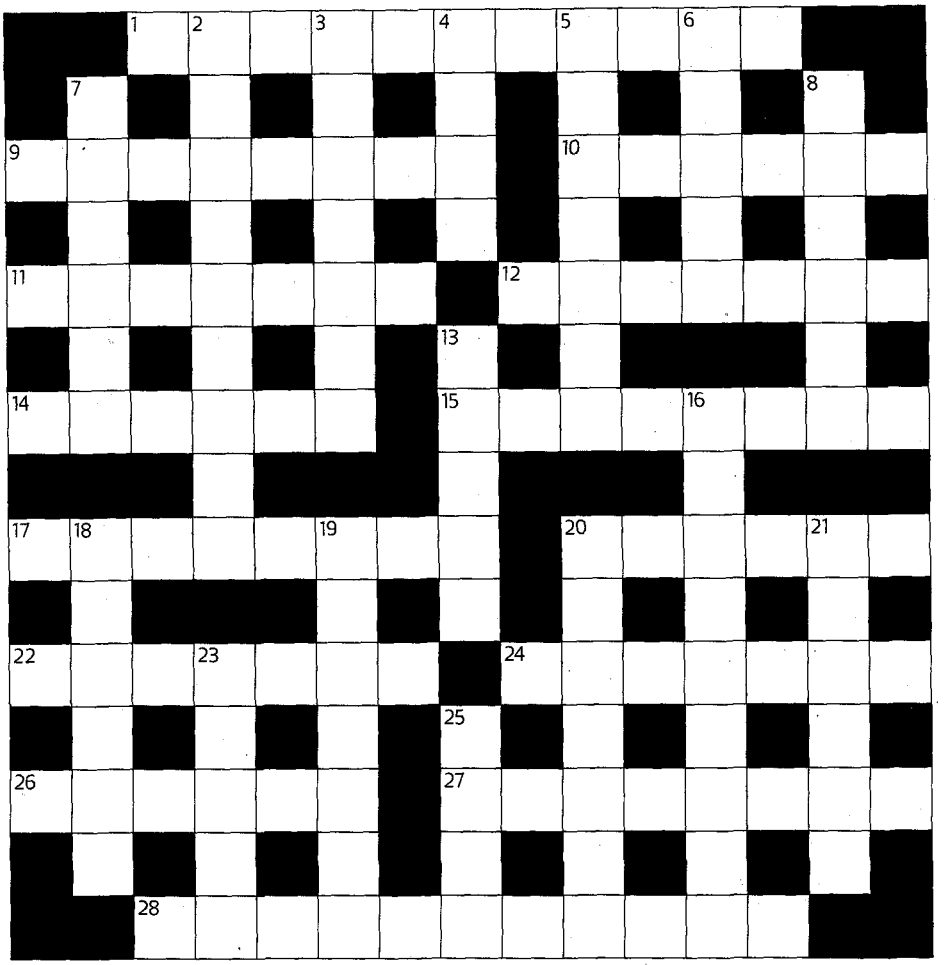
For all ads please include your name, address and contact phone number with your ad. You can fax your classifieds to us at (212) 982-9000 or e-mail leigh@thenation.com.

Attach ad, typewritten if possible.
The Nation, Classified Department,
33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PUZZLE NO. 2968

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Someone like Cupid evidently isn't very happy, but this guy has a more powerful weapon. (11)

9 Does this make soup, so bad its good—a ringer? (8)

10 This is like coming back to what might catch a foreign dignitary. (6)

11 Only half of a place in Samoa gets an unhappy comeback, but you can see sacred buildings here. (7)

12 Thrown around and cooked up about right! (7)

14 Possibly made in a place in Arabia. (6)

15 Tuna provides a real change, but there's no point in bacon being central to it. (8)

17 Supposedly the epitome of American-ness—and of orderliness. (5,3)

20 Elements of the army have an unsatisfactory comeback, when placed in a backstreet. (6)

22 The best performer in the show has a measure of what might describe a top performer, naturally! (7)

24 One of the results of the cold when lines are broken, bearing a very loud indication. (7)

26 One of those little women who is paradoxically very large, which might be considered a real crime. (6)

27 Were they involved in a fight over roses? (8)

28 What is called for when the German has foggy vision is a stuffer, of sorts. (11)

DOWN

2 Common talk, with a test about nothing that describes an animal catcher. (9)

3 He wrote music that proves Santa is confused about me. (7)

4, 13 and **25** The sort with a brassy look make a large appearance in print. (9,4)

5 People might, after taking a bath—but it seems an old-fashioned medium for achieving clean habits. (7)

6 and **16** In a straightforward way, might describe something of a flap. (2,3,4,5)

7 At getting up from a less than perfect meal, you might remember this as being hot. (6)

8 Rush madly to make a living from it! (6)

13 See 4

16 See 6

18 Earth rising up, up becomes really rotten. (6)

19 More than one egg-laying monotreme shown up by the hoopla, typically. (7)

20 What the spoiled kid throws, having such French spirit. (7)

21 A judge of the Bible that put one in the serving dish? (6)

23 It proves everything is up to mother to take care of the animal. (5)

25 See 4 down

PUZZLED? No more cross words. If you don't see why "Lures" are "Ground Rules" send for those of Mr. Lewis to: Puzzled, The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003, or access our website at www.thenation.com/about/crossword.mhtml.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2967

	S	E	B	I	A	A	A			
O	U	T	S	T	A	N	D	I	N	G
	P	A	R	I	D	A	A			
O	P	P	U	G	N	O	P	E	N	M
	O			A	T	V			D	
D	R	U	G	B	O	I	L	E	R	R
	T	A	U	C			E	N		
D	I	S	P	O	S	E	T	U	X	E
	N	E			T	R	F	N		
A	G	G	R	E	S	S	O	R	S	S
	R			T	O	I		S		
W	O	O	D	W	O	R	K	F	R	A
	L	U	R	O	O	R	O			
W	E	A	T	H	E	R	F	O	R	E
	S	Y	S	F	M	S	T			

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

*Now at the lowest price ever of $49.95!**

A floor lamp that spreads sunshine all over a room and pays for itself!

The Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp combines the benefits of natural daylight indoors with an energy savings of $51 over the life of one bulb!*

Ever since the first human went into a dark cave and built a fire, people have realized the importance of proper indoor lighting. Unfortunately, since Edison invented the light bulb, lighting technology has remained relatively prehistoric. Modern light fixtures do little to combat many symptoms of improper lighting, such as eyestrain, dryness or burning. As more and more of us spend longer hours in front of a computer monitor, the results are compounded. And the effects of indoor lighting are not necessarily limited to physical well being. Many people believe that the quantity and quality of light can play a part in one's mood and work performance. Now, there's a better way to bring the positive benefits of natural sunlight indoors.

The Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp will change the way you see and feel about your living or work spaces. Studies show that sunshine can lift your mood and your energy levels, but as we all know the sun, unfortunately, does not always shine. So to bring the benefits of natural daylight indoors, use the floor lamp that simulates the full spectrum of daylight. You will see with more clarity and enjoyment as this lamp provides sharp visibility for close tasks and reduces eyestrain.

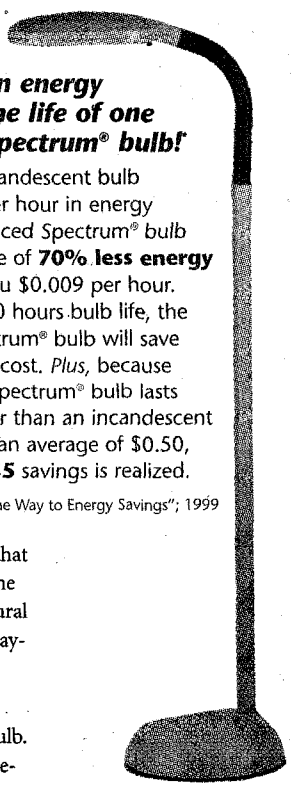
Its 27-watt compact bulb is the equivalent to a 150-watt ordinary light bulb. This makes it perfect for activities such as reading, writing, sewing, needlepoint, and especially for aging eyes.

We've looked at lots of lights, but this one offered the benefit of dual light levels of 27 and 18 watts of power equivalent to 150 and 100-watt incandescent bulbs. This lamp has a flexible gooseneck design for maximum efficiency, with an "Instant On" switch that is flicker-free. The high-tech electronics, user-friendly design, and bulb that lasts ten times longer than an ordinary bulb make this product a must-have.

*SAVE $51 in energy cost over the life of one Balanced Spectrum® bulb!**

A 150 watt incandescent bulb uses $0.013 per hour in energy cost. The Balanced Spectrum® bulb uses an average of **70% less energy** which saves you $0.009 per hour. Based on 5,000 hours bulb life, the Balanced Spectrum® bulb will save **$46** in energy cost. *Plus,* because the Balanced Spectrum® bulb lasts 10 times longer than an incandescent bulb priced at an average of $0.50, an additional **$5** savings is realized.

*Source: "Lighting the Way to Energy Savings"; 1999



Height as shown: 50"

"I sit in my comfortable chair after my husband has gone to bed, and I turn that lamp on. It makes it so nice because it's like daylight over my chair...I don't get sore eyes like I used to."

Grace A.
Margate, FL

Try the Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp now at it's lowest price of less than $50! Now more than ever is the time to add sunshine to every room in your house at this fantastic low price! The Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp comes with a one-year manufacturer's limited warranty and *first*STREET's exclusive guarantee. Try this product for 90 days and return it for the product purchase price if not completely satisfied.

Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp
Item# ZL-3589 . . . . . **was ~~$59.95~~**
*Save $10 with mail-in rebate
Only $49.95 + S&H after rebate
Please mention promotional code *29220.*

For fastest service, call toll-free 24 hours a day

866-237-2688

To order by mail, please call for details

www.balancedspectrum.com

*first*STREET™
SEE IT HERE FIRST
Formerly TechnoScout®

1998 Ruffin Mill Road • Colonial Heights, VA 23834

All rights reserved. © 2004 *first*STREET, Inc.

38836

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED